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THE

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VOL. VIII.

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A Defence of the People of *England*, in Anſwer to *Salmaſius's* Defence of the King.

THE PREFACE.

ALtho I fear, leſt, if in defending the People of *England*, I ſhould be as copious in Words, and empty of Matter, as moſt Men think *Salmaſius* has been in his Defence of the King, I might ſeem to deſerve juſtly to be accounted a verboſe and ſilly Defender; yet ſince no Man thinks himſelf obliged to make ſo much haſte, tho in the handling but of any ordinary Subject, as not to premiſe ſome Introduction at leaſt, according as the weight of his Subject requires; if I take the ſame courſe in handling almoſt the greateſt Subject that ever was, (without being too tedious in it) I am in hopes of attaining two things, which indeed I earneſtly deſire. The one, not to be at all wanting, as far as in me lies, to this moſt Noble Cauſe, and moſt worthy to be recorded to all future Ages: The other, That I may appear to have avoided my ſelf, that frivolouſneſs of Matter, and redundancy of Words, which I blame in my Antagoniſt. For I am about to diſcourſe of Matters, neither inconſiderable nor common, but how a moſt Potent King, after he had trampled upon the Laws of the Nation, and given a ſhock to its Religion, and begun to rule at his own Will and Pleaſure, was at laſt ſubdu'd in the Field by his own Subjects,

who had undergone a long Slavery under him; how afterwards he was caſt into Priſon, and when he gave no ground, either by Words or Actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally by the Supreme Council of the Kingdom condemned to dye, and beheaded before the very Gates of the Royal Palace. I ſhall likewiſe relate, (which will much conduce to the eaſing mens minds of a great Superſtition) by what Right, eſpecially according to our Law, this Judgment was given, and all theſe Matters tranſacted; and ſhall eaſily defend my Valiant and Worthy Countrymen (who have extremely well deſerved of all Subjects and Nations in the World) from the moſt wicked Calumnies both of Domeſtick and Foreign Railers, and eſpecially from the Reproaches of this moſt vain and empty Sophiſter, who ſets up for a Captain and Ringleader to all the reſt. For what King's Majeſty ſitting upon an Exalted Throne, ever ſhone ſo brightly, as that of the People of *England* then did, when ſhaking off that old Superſtition, which had prevailed a long time, they gave Judgment upon the King himſelf, or rather upon an Enemy who had been their King, caught as it were in a Net by his own Laws (who alone of all Mortals challenged to himſelf impunity by a Divine Right) and ſcrupled not to inflict the ſame puniſhment upon him, being guilty, which he would have inflicted upon any other. But why do I mention theſe things as performed by the People, which almoſt open their Voice themſelves, and teſtify the Preſence of God throughout? Who, as often as it ſeems good to his Infinite Wiſdom, uſes to throw down proud and unruly Kings, exalting themſelves above the Condition of Humane Nature, and utterly to extirpate them and all their Family. By his manifeſt Impulſe being ſet on work to recover our almoſt loſt Liberty, following him as our Guide, and adoring the impreſſes of his Divine

Power manifeſted upon all occaſions, we went on in no obſcure, but an illuſtrious Paſſage, pointed out and made plain to us by God himſelf. Which things, if I ſhould ſo much as hope by any diligence or ability of mine, ſuch as it is, to diſcourſe of as I ought to do, and to commit them ſo to writing, as that perhaps all Nations and all Ages may read them, it would be a very vain thing in me. For what ſtile can be auguſt and magnificent enough, what man has parts ſufficient to undertake ſo great a Taſk? Since we find by Experience, that in ſo many Ages as are gone over the World, there has been but here and there a man found, who has been able worthily to recount the Actions of Great Heroes, and Potent States; Can any man have ſo good an opinion of his own Talents, as to think himſelf capable to reach theſe glorious and wonderful Works of Almighty God, by any Language, by any Stile of his? Which Enterprize, though ſome of the moſt Eminent Perſons in our Commonwealth have prevailed upon me by their Authority to undertake, and would have it be my buſineſs to vindicate with my Pen againſt Envy and Calumny (which are proof againſt Arms) thoſe Glorious Performances of theirs (whoſe opinion of me I take as a very great honour, that they ſhould pitch upon me before others to be ſerviceable in this kind to thoſe moſt Valiant Deliverers of my Native Countrey; and true it is, that from my very youth I have been bent extremely upon ſuch ſort of Studies, as inclin'd me, if not to do great things my ſelf, at leaſt to celebrate thoſe that did) yet as having no confidence in any ſuch Advantages, I have recourſe to the Divine Aſſiſtance; and invoke the Great and Holy God, the Giver of all good Gifts, that I may as ſubſtantially, and as truly, diſcuſs and refute the Sawcineſs and Lies of this Foreign Declamator, as our Noble Generals piouſly and ſucceſsfully by force of Arms broke the

King's Pride, and his unruly Domineering, and afterwards put an end to both by inflicting a memorable Punishment upon himself, and as throughly as a single person did with ease but of late confute and confound the King himself, rising as it were from the Grave, and recommending himself to the People in a Book publish'd after his death, with new Artifices and Allurements of Words and Expressions. Which Antagonist of mine, though he be a Foreigner, and, though he deny it a thousand times over, but a poor Grammarian; yet not contented with the Salary due to him in that Capacity, chose to turn a Pragmatical Coxcomb; and not only to intrude in State-Affairs, but into the Affairs of a Foreign State: tho he brings along with him neither Modesty, nor Understanding, nor any other Qualification requisite in so great an Arbitrator, but Sawcineſs, and a little Grammar only. Indeed, if he had publish'd here, and in English, the same things that he has now wrote in Latin such as it is, I think no man would have thought it worth while to return an Answer to them, but would partly despise them as common, and exploded over and over already, and partly abhor them as sordid and tyrannical Maxims, not to be endured even by the most abject of Slaves: Nay, Men that have sided with the King, would have had these thoughts of his Book. But since he has swol'n it to a considerable bulk, and dispers'd it amongst Foreigners, who are altogether ignorant of our Affairs and Constitution; it's fit that they who mistake them, should be better informed; and that he, who is so very forward to speak ill of others, should be treated in his own kind. If it be asked, why we did not then attack him sooner, why we suffered him to triumph so long, and pride himself in our silence? For others I am not to answer; for my self I can boldly say, That I had neither Words nor Arguments

long to ſeek for the defence of ſo good a Cauſe, if I had enjoyed ſuch a meaſure of health, as would have endur'd the fatigue of writing. And being but yet weak in Body, I am forced to write by piece-meal, and break off almoſt every hour, though the Subject be ſuch as requires an unintermitted ſtudy and intenſeneſs of mind. But though this bodily Indiſpoſition may be a hindrance to me in ſetting forth the juſt Praiſes of my moſt worthy Countreymen, who have been the Saviours of their Native Country, and whoſe Exploits, worthy of Immortality, are already famous all the World over; yet I hope it will be no difficult matter for me to defend them from the Inſolence of this ſilly little Scholar, and from that ſawcy Tongue of his, at leaſt. Nature and Laws would be in an ill caſe, if Slavery ſhould find what to ſay for it ſelf, and Liberty be mute: and if Tyrants ſhould find men to plead for them, and they that can maſter and vanquiſh Tyrants, ſhould not be able to find Advocates. And it were a deplorable thing indeed, if the Reaſon Mankind is endu'd withal, and which is the gift of God, ſhould not furniſh more Arguments for mens Preſervation, for their Deliverance, and, as much as the nature of the thing will bear, for making them equal to one another, than for their oppreſſion, and for their utter ruine under the Domineering Power of One ſingle Perſon. Let me therefore enter upon this Noble Cauſe with a chearfulneſs, grounded upon this Aſſurance, That my Adverſary's Cauſe is maintain'd by nothing but Fraud, Fallacy, Ignorance and Barbarity; whereas mine has Light, Truth, Reaſon, the Practice and the Learning of the beſt Ages of the World, of its ſide.

But now, having ſaid enough for an Introduction, ſince we have to do with Criticks; let us in the firſt place conſider the Title of this Choice Piece: *De-*

fenſio Regia pro Car. Primo, ad Car. Secundum. A Royal Defence (or the King's Defence) *for Charles the Firſt to Charles the Second.* You undertake a wonderful piece of work, whoever you are; to plead the Father's Cauſe before his own Son: a hundred to one but you carry it. But I ſummon you, *Salmaſius*, who heretofore ſculk'd under a wrong name, and now go by no name at all, to appear before another Tribunal, and before other Judges, where perhaps you may not hear thoſe little Applauſes, which you uſe to be ſo fond of in your School. But why this Royal Defence dedicated to the King's own Son? We need not put him to the torture; he confeſſes why. *At the King's charge*, ſays he. O mercenary and chargeable Advocate! could you not afford to write a Defence for *Charles* the Father, whom you pretend to have been the beſt of Kings, to *Charles* the Son, the moſt indigent of all Kings, but it muſt be at the poor King's own Charge? But though you are a Knave, you would not make your ſelf ridiculous, in calling it *the King's Defence;* for you having ſold it, it is no longer yours, but the King's indeed: who bought it at the price of a hundred *Jacobuſſes*, a great Sum for a poor King to diſburſe. I know very well what I ſay: and 'tis well enough known who brought the Gold, and the Purſe wrought with Beads: We know who ſaw you reach out greedy fiſts, under pretence of embracing the King's Chaplain, who brought the Preſent, but indeed to embrace the Preſent it ſelf, and by accepting it to exhauſt almoſt all the King's Treaſury.

But now the man comes himſelf, the Door creaks; the Actor comes upon the Stage.

In ſilence now, and with attention wait,
That ye may learn what th' Eunuch has to prate.
Terent.

For whatever the matter's with him, he bluſters more than ordinary. *A horrible meſſage had lately ſtruck our Ears, but our Minds more, with a heinous wound concerning a Parricide committed in* England *in the Perſon of a King, by a wicked Conſpiracy of Sacrilegious men.* Indeed that horrible Meſſage muſt either have had a much longer Sword than that which *Peter* drew, or thoſe Ears muſt have been of a wonderful length, that it could wound at ſuch a diſtance; for it could not ſo much as in the leaſt offend any Ears but thóſe of an Aſs. For what harm is it to you, that are Foreigners? are any of you hurt by it, if we amongſt our ſelves put our own Enemies, our own Traytors to death, be they Commoners, Noblemen, or Kings? Do you, *Salmaſius*, let alone what does not concern you: for I have a horrible Meſſage to bring of you too; which I'm miſtaken if it ſtrike not a *more heinous wound* into the Ears of all Grammarians and Criticks, provided they have any Learning and Delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding ſo many barbarous Expreſſions together in one period in the perſon of (*Ariſtarchus*) a Grammarian; and that ſo great a Critick as you, hired at the King's charge to write a Defence of the King his Father, ſhould not only ſet ſo fulſome a Preface before it, much like thoſe lamentable Ditties that uſed to be ſung at Funerals, and which can move compaſſion in none but a Coxcomb; but in the very firſt ſentence ſhould prevoke your Readers to laughter with ſo many Barbariſms all at once. *Perſona Regis*, you cry. Where do you find any ſuch *Latin?* Or are you telling us ſome tale or other of a *Perkin Warbeck*, who taking upon him the *Perſon of a King*, has, forſooth, committed ſome horrible Parricide in *England?* Which expreſſion, though dropping careleſly from your Pen, has more truth in it, than you are aware of. For a Tyrant is but like a King upon a Stage,

a man in a Vizor, and acting the part of a King in a Play; he is not really a King. But as for these *Gallicisms*, that are so frequent in your Book, I won't lash you for them my self, for I am not at leisure; but shall deliver you over to your fellow-Grammarians, to be laught to scorn and whipt by them. What follows is much more *heinous*, that what was decreed by our Supreme Magistrates to be done to the King, should be said by you to have been done *by a wicked Conspiracy of Sacrilegious persons*. Have you the impudence, you Rogue, to talk at this rate of the Acts and Decrees of the chief Magistrates of a Nation, that lately was a most Potent Kingdom, and is now a more Potent Commonwealth? Whose proceedings no King ever took upon him by word of mouth, or otherwise, to vilifie and set at nought. The Illustrious States of *Holland* therefore, the Genuine Off-spring of those Deliverers of their Country, have deservedly by their Edict condemn'd to utter darkness this *Defence* of Tyrants, so pernicious to the Liberty of all Nations; the Author of which every free State ought to forbid their Country, or to banish out of it; and that State particularly that feeds with a Stipend so ungrateful and so Savage an Enemy to their Commonwealth, whose very fundamentals, and the causes of their becoming a free State, this Fellow endeavours to undermine as well as ours, and at one and the same time to subvert both; loading with Calumnies the most worthy Asserters of Liberty there, under our Names. Consider with your selves, ye most Illustrious States of the *United Netherlands*, who it was that put this Asserter of Kingly Power upon setting Pen to Paper? who it was, that but lately began to play *Rex* in your Country? what Counsels were taken, what endeavours used, and what disturbances ensued thereupon in *Holland?* and to what pass things might have been brought

by this time? how Slavery and a new Maſter were ready prepar'd for you; and how near expiring that Liberty of yours, aſſerted and vindicated by ſo many years War and Toil, would have been e're now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain raſh young GENTLEMAN. But our Author begins to ſtrut again, and to feign wonderful Tragedies; *Whomſoever this dreadful news reacht* (to wit, the news of *Salmaſius's* Parricidial Barbariſms) *all of a ſudden, as if they had been ſtruck with lightning, their hair ſtood an end, and their tongues clove to the roof of their mouth.* Which let Natural Philoſophers take notice of (for this ſecret in nature was never diſcovered before) that lightning makes mens hair ſtand an end. But who knows not that little effeminate minds are apt to be amaz'd at the news of any extraordinary great Action; and that then they ſhow themſelves to be, what they really were before, no better than ſo many Stocks? *Some could not refrain from tears;* ſome little Women at Court, I ſuppoſe, or if there be any more effeminate than they, of whoſe number *Salmaſius* himſelf being one, is by a new *Metamorphoſis* become a Fountain near a-kin to his Name *(Salmacis)* and with his counterfeit flood of tears prepared over night, endeavours to emaſculate generous minds: I adviſe therefore, and wiſh them to have a care;

Infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis
Salmacis Enervet.——
——Ne, ſi vir cum venerit, exeat indè
Semivir, et tactis ſubitò molleſcat in undis.

Abſtain, as Manhood you eſteem,
From *Salmacis* pernicious Stream:
If but one moment there you ſtay,
Too dear you'l for your Bathing pay.—

Depart nor Man nor Woman, but a Sight
Diſgracing both, a loath'd Hermaphrodite.

They that had more courage (which yet he expreſſes in miſerable bald *Latin*, as if he could not ſo much as ſpeak of Men of Courage and Magnanimity in proper words) *were ſet on fire with indignation to that degree, that they could hardly contain themſelves.* Thoſe furious Hectors we value not of a ruſh. We have been accuſtomed to rout ſuch Bullies in the Field with a true ſober courage; a courage becoming men that can contain themſelves, and are in their right Wits. *There were none that did not curſe the Authors of ſo horrible a Villany.* But yet, you ſay, their tongues clove to the roof of their mouths; and if you mean this of our Fugitives only, I wiſh they had clove there to this day; for we know very well that there's nothing more common with them, than to have their mouths full of Curſes and Imprecations, which indeed all good men abominate, but withal deſpiſe. As for others, it's hardly credible, that when they heard the news of our having inflicted a Capital Puniſhment upon the King, there ſhould any be found, eſpecially in a Free State, ſo naturally adapted to Slavery as either to ſpeak ill of us, or ſo much as to cenſure what we had done. Nay, 'tis highly probable that all good men applauded us, and gave God thanks for ſo illuſtrious, ſo exalted a piece of Juſtice; and for a Caution ſo very uſeful to other Princes. In the mean time, as for thoſe *fierce*, thoſe *ſteel-hearted men*, that, you ſay, take on for, and bewail ſo pitifully, *the lamentable and wonderful death* of I know not who; them, I ſay, together with their tinkling Advocate, the dulleſt that ever appeared *ſince the name of a King was born and known in the World*, we ſhall e'en let whine on, till they cry their eyes out. But in the mean time, what School-boy,

what little inſignificant Monk could not have made a more elegant Speech for the King, and in better *Latin* than this Royal Advocate has done? But it would be folly in me to make ſuch particular Animadverſions upon his Childiſhneſs and Frenzies throughout his Book, as I do here upon a few in the beginning of it; which yet I would be willing enough to do (for we hear that he is ſwell'd with Pride and Conceit to the utmoſt degree imaginable) if the undigeſted and immethodical bulk of his Book did not protect him. He was reſolved to take a courſe like the Soldier in *Terence*, to ſave his Bacon; and it was very cunning in him to ſtuff his Book with ſo much Puerility, and ſo many ſilly Whimſies, that it might nauſeate the ſmarteſt man in the World to death to take notice of 'em all. Only I thought it might not be amiſs to give a Specimen of him in the Preface; and to let the ſerious Reader have a taſte of him at firſt, that he might gueſs by the firſt diſh that's ſerv'd up, how noble an Entertainment the reſt are like to make; and that he may imagine with himſelf what an infinite number of Fooleries and Impertinencies muſt needs be heaped up together in the body of the Book, when they ſtand ſo thick in the very Entrance into it, where of all other places they ought to have been ſhunned. His tittle-tattle that follows, and his Sermons fit for nothing but to be worm-eaten, I can eaſily paſs by; as for any thing in them relating to us, we doubt not in the leaſt, but that what has been written and publiſhed by Authority of Parliament, will have far greater weight with all wiſe and ſober men, than the Calumnies and Lies of one ſingle impudent little Fellow: who being hired by our Fugitives, their Countrey's Enemies, has ſcrap'd together, and not ſcrupled to publiſh in Print, whatever little Story any one of them that employed him, put into his head. And that all men may plainly ſee how

little conſcience he makes of ſetting down any thing right or wrong, good or bad, I deſire no other Witneſs than *Salmaſius* himſelf. In his book, entituled, *Apparatus contra Primatum Papæ*, he ſays, "There "are moſt weighty Reaſons why the Church ought "to lay aſide Epiſcopacy, and return to the Apoſto-"lical Inſtitution of Preſbyters: That a far greater "miſchief has been introduced into the Church by "Epiſcopacy, than the Schiſms themſelves were, "which were before apprehended: That the Plague "which Epiſcopacy introduced, depreſſed the whole "body of the Church under a miſerable Tyranny; "nay, had put a yoke even upon the necks of Kings "and Princes: That it would be more beneficial to "the Church, if the whole Hierarchy it ſelf, were "extirpated, than if the Pope only, who is the Head "of it, were laid aſide," *page* 160. "That it would "be very much for the good of the Church, if Epiſ-"copacy were taken away, together with the Papacy: "That if Epiſcopacy were once taken down, the Pa-"pacy would fall of it ſelf, as being founded upon "it," *page* 171. He ſays, "he can ſhew very good "reaſons why Epiſcopacy ought to be put down in "thoſe Kingdoms that have renounced the Pope's "Supremacy; but that he can ſee no reaſon for re-"taining it there: That a Reformation is not entire, "that is defective in this point: That no reaſon can "be alledged, no probable cauſe aſſigned, why the "Supremacy of the Pope being once diſowned, "Epiſcopacy ſhould notwithſtanding be retained," *page* 197. Tho he had wrote all this, and a great deal more to this effect, but four years ago, he is now become ſo vain and ſo impudent withal, as to accuſe the Parliament of *England*, "for not only turning "the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, but for "aboliſhing Epiſcopacy it ſelf." Nay, he perſwades us to receive Epiſcopacy, and defends it by the very

ſame Reaſons and Arguments, which with a great deal of earneſtneſs he had confuted himſelf in that former Book; to wit, " That Biſhops were neceſ-" ſary, and ought to have been retained, to prevent " the ſpringing up of a Thouſand pernicious Sects " and Hereſies." Crafty Turn-coat! Are you not aſham'd to ſhift hands thus in things that are Sacred, and (I had almoſt ſaid) to betray the Church; whoſe moſt ſolemn Inſtitutions you ſeem to have aſſerted and vindicated with ſo much noiſe, that when it ſhould ſeem for your intereſt to change ſides, you might undo and ſubvert all again with the more diſgrace and infamy to your ſelf? It's notoriouſly known, That when both Houſes of Parliament, being extremely deſirous to reform the Church of *England* by the pattern of other Reformed Churches, had reſolved to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, the King firſt interpoſed, and afterwards waged War againſt them chiefly for that very cauſe; which proved fatal to him. Go now and boaſt of your having defended the King; who, that you might the better defend him, do now openly betray and impugn the Cauſe of the Church, whoſe Defence you yourſelf had formerly undertaken; and whoſe ſevereſt Cenſures ought to be inflicted upon you. As for the preſent form of our Government, ſince ſuch a Foreign inſignificant Profeſſor as you, having laid aſide your Boxes and Deſks ſtufft with nothing but Trifles, which you might have ſpent your time better in putting into order, will needs turn buſie-body, and be troubleſome in other mens matters, I ſhall return you this anſwer, or rather not to you, but to them that are wiſer than yourſelf, *viz.* That the Form of it is ſuch as our preſent diſtractions will admit of; not ſuch as were to be wiſh'd, but ſuch as the obſtinate Diviſions that are amongſt us, will bear. What State ſoever is peſtered with Factions, and defends it ſelf by Force of

Arms, is very juſt in having regard to thoſe only that are ſound and untainted, and in overlooking or ſecluding the reſt, be they of the Nobility or the Common People; nay, though profiting by experience, they ſhould refuſe to be governed any longer either by a King or a Houſe of Lords. But in railing at that *Supreme Council*, as you call it, and at the *Chairman there*, you make your ſelf very ridiculous; for that Council is not the Supreme Council, as you dream it is, but appointed by Authority of Parliament, for a certain time only; and conſiſting of forty Perſons, for the moſt part Members of Parliament, any one of whom may be Preſident, if the reſt vote him into the Chair. And there is nothing more common, than for our Parliaments to appoint Committees of their own Members; who, when ſo appointed, have Power to meet where they pleaſe, and hold a kind of little Parliament amongſt themſelves. And the moſt weighty Affairs are often referred to them, for Expedition and Secreſie; the care of the Navy, the Army, the Treaſury; in ſhort, all things whatſoever relating either to War or Peace. Whether this be called a Council, or any thing elſe, the thing is ancient, though the name may be new; and it is ſuch an Inſtitution, as no Government can be duly adminiſtered without it. As for our putting the King to death, and changing the Government, forbear your bawling, don't ſpit your Venom, till, going along with you through every Chapter, I ſhow, whether you will or no, *by what Law, by what Right and Juſtice* all that was done. But if you inſiſt to know *by what Right, by what Law;* by that Law, I tell you, which God and Nature have enacted, *viz.* that whatever things are for the Univerſal Good of the Whole State, are for that reaſon lawful and juſt. So wiſe Men of old uſed to anſwer ſuch as you. You find fault with us for *Repealing Laws that had ob-*

tained for ſo many years; but you do not tell us whether thoſe Laws were good or bad, nor, if you did, ſhould we heed what you ſaid; for, you buſy Puppy, what have you to do with our Laws? I wiſh our Magiſtrates had repealed more than they have, both Laws and Lawyers; if they had, they would have conſulted the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion, and that of the People better then they have done. It frets you, That *Hob-goblins, Sons of the Earth, ſcarce Gentlemen at home, ſcarce known to their own Countrymen, ſhould preſume to do ſuch things.* But you ought to have remembred, what not only the Scriptures, but *Horace* would have taught you, *viz.*

Valet ima ſummis
Mutare, et inſignem attenuat Deus,
Obſcura promens, &c.

The Power that did create, can change the Scene
Of things; make mean of great, and great of mean:
The brighteſt Glory can eclipſe with Night;
And place the moſt obſcure in dazling Light.

But take this into the bargain. Some of thoſe who, you ſay, be ſcarce Gentlemen, are not at all inferiour in birth to any of your party. Others, whoſe Anceſtors were not Noble, have taken a courſe to attain to true Nobility by their own Induſtry and Vertue, and are not inferior to men of the Nobleſt Deſcent. They had rather be called *Sons of the Earth,* provided it be their own Earth (their own Native Country) and act like Men at home, then, being deſtitute of Houſe or Land, to relieve the neceſſities of Nature in a Foreign Country by ſelling of Smoke, as thou doſt, an inconſiderable Fellow and a Jack-ſtraw, and who dependeſt upon the good will of thy Maſters for a poor Stipend;

for whom it were better to dispense with thy labors, and return to thy own Kindred and Country-men, if thou hadst not this one piece of Cunning, to babble out some silly Prelections and Fooleries at so good a rate amongst Foreigners. You find fault with our Magistrates for admitting such *a Common-shore of all sorts of Sects.* Why should they not? It belongs to the Church to cast them out of the Communion of the faithful; not to the Magistrate to banish them the Country, provided they do not offend against the Civil Laws of the State. Men at first united into Civil Societies, that they might live safely, and enjoy their Liberty, without being wrong'd or oppreſt; and that they might live Religiously and according to the Doctrine of Christianity, they united themselves into Churches. Civil Societies have Laws, and Churches have a Discipline peculiar to themselves, and far differing from each other. And this has been the occasion of so many Wars in *Christendom;* to wit, because the Civil Magistrate and the Church confounded their Jurisdictions. Therefore we do not admit of the Popish Sect, so as to tolerate Papists at all; for we do not look upon that as a Religion, but rather as an Hierarchical Tyranny, under a Cloak of Religion, cloth'd with the Spoils of the Civil Power, which it has usurp'd to it self contrary to our Saviour's own Doctrine. As for the *Independents*, we never had any such amongst us, as you describe; they that we call *Independents* are only such as hold that no Classis or Synods have a Superiority over any particular Church, and that therefore they ought all to be pluckt up by the Roots, as Branches, or rather as the very Trunk of Hierarchy it self; which is your own opinion too. And from hence it was that the name of *Independents* prevailed amongst the Vulgar. The rest of your Preface is spent in endeavouring not only to stir up the hatred of all Kings and Mo-

narchs againſt us, but to perſwade them to make a General War upon us. *Mithridates* of old, though in a different cauſe, endeavoured to ſtir up all Princes to make War upon the *Romans*, by laying to their charge almoſt juſt the ſame things that you do to ours: *viz.* that the *Romans* aim'd at nothing but the Subverſion of all Kingdoms, that they had no regard to any thing whether Sacred or Civil, that from their very firſt riſe they never enjoy'd any thing but what they had acquir'd by force, that they were Robbers, and the greateſt Enemies in the world to Monarchy. Thus *Mithridates* expreſt himſelf in a Letter to *Arſaces* King of the *Parthians*. But how came you, whoſe buſineſs it is to make ſilly Speeches from your Deſk, to have the confidence to imagine, that by your perſwaſions to take up Arms, and *ſounding an Alarm* as it were, you ſhould be able ſo much as to influence a King amongſt Boys at play; eſpecially, with ſo ſhrill a Voice, and unſavoury Breath, that I believe, if you were to have been the Trumpeter, not ſo much as *Homer's* Mice would have waged war againſt the Frogs? So little do we fear, you Slug you, any War or Danger from Foreign Princes through your ſilly Rhetorick, who accuſeſt us to them, juſt as if you were at play, *That we toſs Kings heads like Balls; play at Bowls with Crowns; and regard Scepters no more then if they were Fools Staves with heads on:* But you in the mean time, you ſilly Logerhead, deſerve to have your Bones well-thraſh'd with a Fool's ſtaff, for thinking to ſtir up Kings and Princes to War by ſuch Childiſh Arguments. Then you cry aloud to all Nations, who, I know full well, will never heed what you ſay. You call upon that wretched and barbarous Crew of *Iriſh* Rebels too, to aſſert the King's Party. Which one thing is ſufficient evidence how much you are both a Fool and a Knave, and how you out-do almoſt all Mankind

in Villany, Impudence, and Madneſs; who ſcruple not to implore the Loyalty and Aid of an execrable People, devoted to the Slaughter, whom the King himſelf always abhorr'd, or ſo pretended, to have any thing to do with, by reaſon of the guilt of ſo much innocent Blood, which they had contracted. And that very Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty, which he endeavoured as much as he could to conceal, and to clear himſelf from any ſuſpition of, you the moſt villanous of Mortals, as fearing neither God nor Man, voluntarily and openly take upon your ſelf. Go on then, undertake the Kings Defence at the Encouragement, and by the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*. You take care, and ſo you might well, leſt any ſhould imagine that you were about to bereave *Cicero* or *Demoſthenes* of the praiſe due to their Eloquence, by telling us before hand, that *you conceive you ought not to ſpeak like an Orator*. 'Tis wiſely ſaid of a Fool; you conceive you ought not to do what is not in your power to do: and who that knows you never ſo little, ever expects any thing like an Orator from you? Who neither uſes, nor is able to publiſh any thing that's Elaborate, Diſtinct, or has ſo much as Senſe in it; but like a ſecond *Criſpin*, or that little Grecian *Tzetzes*, you do but write a great deal, take no pains to write well; nor could write any thing well, though you took never ſo much pains. *This Cauſe ſhall be argued* (ſay you) *in the hearing, and as it were before the Tribunal of all Mankind.* That's what we like ſo well, that we could now wiſh we had a diſcreet and intelligent Adverſary, and not ſuch a hair-brain'd Blunderbuſs, as you, to deal with. You conclude very Tragically, like *Ajax* in his Raving; *I will proclaim to Heaven and Earth the Injuſtice, the Villany, the Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty of theſe Men, and will deliver them over convicted to all Poſterity.* O Flowers! that ſuch a witleſs, ſenſeleſs Bawler, one

that was born but to ſpoil or tranſcribe good Authors, ſhould think himſelf able to write any thing of his own, that will reach Poſterity, whom together with his frivolous Scribles the very next Age will bury in oblivion; unleſs this Defence of the King perhaps may be beholden to the Anſwer I give to it, for being looked into now and then. And I would entreat the Illuſtrious States of *Holland* to take off their Prohibition, and ſuffer the Book to be publickly ſold. For when I have detected the Vanity, Ignorance, and Falſhood, that it is full of, the farther it ſpreads, the more effectually it will be ſuppreſt. Now let us hear how he *convicts* us.

A Defence of the People of *England*.

CHAP. I.

I Perſwade my ſelf, *Salmaſius*, that you being a vain flaſhy man, are not a little proud of being the King of *Great Britain's* Defender, who himſelf was ſtil'd the *Defender of the Faith*. For my part, I think you deſerve your Titles both alike; for the King defended the Faith, and you have defended him ſo, that betwixt you, you have ſpoiled both your Cauſes: which I ſhall make appear throughout the whole enſuing Diſcourſe, and particularly in this very Chapter. You told us in the 12th Page of your Preface, That *ſo good and ſo juſt a Cauſe ought not to be embeliſht with any flouriſhes of Rhetorick; That the King needed no other Defence than by a bare Narrative of his Story;* and yet in your firſt Chapter, in which you had promiſed us that bare Narrative, you neither tell the Story right, nor do you abſtain from making uſe of all the ſkill you have in Rhetorick to ſet it off. So that, if we muſt take your own judgment, we muſt believe the King's Cauſe to be neither good nor juſt. But by the way I would adviſe you not to have ſo good an Opinion of your ſelf (for no body elſe has ſo of you) as to imagin that you are able to ſpeak well upon any Subject, who can neither play the part of an Orator, nor an Hiſtorian, nor expreſs your ſelf in a Stile that would not be ridiculous even in a

Lawyer; but like a Mountebank's Jugler, with big ſwelling words in your Preface, you raiſ'd our expectation, as if ſome mighty matter were to enſue: in which your deſign was not ſo much to introduce a true Narrative of the King's Story, as to make your own empty intended floriſhes go off the better. For *being now about to give us an account of the matter of Fact, you find your ſelf encompaſſed and affrighted with ſo many Monſters of Novelty, that y' are at a loſs what to ſay firſt, what next, and what laſt of all.* I'll tell you what the matter is with you. In the firſt place you find your ſelf affrighted and aſtoniſh'd at your own monſtrous Lies, and then you find that empty head of yours not encompaſs'd, but carried round with ſo many trifles and fooleries, that you not only now do not, but never did know what was fit to be ſpoken, and in what method. *Among the many Difficulties that you find in expreſſing the heinouſneſs of ſo incredible a piece of Impiety, this one offers it ſelf,* you ſay, *which is eaſily ſaid, and muſt often be repeated;* to wit, *That the Sun it ſelf never beheld a more outragious action.* But by your good leave, *Sir*, the Sun has beheld many things, that blind *Bernard* never ſaw. But we are content you ſhould mention the Sun over and over. And it will be a piece of Prudence in you ſo to do. For though our wickedneſs does not require it, the coldneſs of the defence that you are making, does. *The Original of Kings*, you ſay, *is as ancient, as that of the Sun.* May the Gods and Goddeſſes, *Damaſippus*, bleſs thee with an everlaſting Solſtice; that thou mayſt always be warm, thou that canſt not ſtir a foot without the Sun. Perhaps you would avoid the imputation of being called a Doctor *Umbraticus*. But alas! you are in perfect darkneſs, that make no difference betwixt a Paternal Power, and a Regal: and that when you had called Kings Fathers of their Country, could fancy that

with that Metaphor you had perſwaded us that whatever is applicable to a Father, is ſo to a King. Alas! there's a great difference betwixt them. Our Fathers begot us. Our King made not us, but we him. Nature has given Fathers to us all, but we our ſelves appointed our own King. So that the People is not for the King, but the King for them. *We bear with a Father, though he be harſh and ſevere;* and ſo we do with a King. But we do not bear with a Father, if he be a Tyrant. If a Father murder his Son, he himſelf muſt die for't; and why ſhould not a King be ſubject to the ſame Law, which certainly is a moſt juſt one? Eſpecially conſidering that a Father cannot by any poſſibility diveſt himſelf of that Relation, but a King eaſily may make himſelf neither King nor Father of his People. If this action of ours be conſidered according to *its quality*, as you call it, I, who am both an Engliſh-man born, and was an Eyewitneſs of the Tranſactions of theſe Times, tell you, who are both a Foreigner and an utter Stranger to our Affairs; That we have put to death neither *a good*, nor *a juſt*, nor *a merciful*, nor *a devout*, nor *a godly*, nor *a peaceable King*, as you ſtile him; but an Enemy, that has been ſo to us almoſt ten years to an end; nor one that was a Father, but a Deſtroyer of his Country. You confeſs that *ſuch things have been practiſ'd;* for your ſelf have not the impudence to deny it: *but not by Proteſtants upon a Proteſtant King.* As if he deſerv'd the name of a Proteſtant, that in a Letter to the Pope, could give him the title of *Moſt Holy Father;* that was always more favourable to the Papiſts than to thoſe of his own Profeſſion. And being ſuch, he is not the firſt of his own Family that has been put to death by Proteſtants. Was not his Grand-mother depoſed and baniſht, and at laſt beheaded by Proteſtants? And were not her own Countrymen, that were Proteſtants too, well enough pleaſ'd

with it? Nay, if I ſhould ſay they were Parties to it, I ſhould not lie. But there being ſo few Proteſtant Kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depoſe a Tyrant, and to puniſh him according to his deſerts; nay, that this is the opinion of very eminent Divines, and of ſuch as have been moſt inſtrumental in the late Reformation, do you deny it if you dare. You confeſs that many Kings have come to an unnatural Death: Some *by the Sword*, ſome *poyſon'd*, ſome *ſtrangled*, and ſome *in a Dungeon; but for a King to be arraign'd in a Court of Judicature, to be put to plead for his Life, to have Sentence of Death pronounc'd againſt him, and that Sentence executed;* this you think a more lamentable Inſtance than all the reſt, and make it a prodigious piece of impiety. Tell me, thou ſuperlative Fool, Whether it be not more juſt, more agreeable to the Rules of Humanity, and the Laws of all Humane Societies, to bring a Criminal, be his Offence what it will, before a Court of Juſtice, to give him leave to ſpeak for himſelf; and, if the Law condemn him, then to put him to death as he has deſerv'd, ſo as he may have time to repent or to recollect himſelf; than preſently, as ſoon as ever he is taken, to butcher him without more ado? D'ye think there's a Malefactor in the World, that if he might have his choice, would not chuſe to be thus dealt withal? and if this ſort of proceeding againſt a private Perſon be accounted the fairer of the two, why ſhould it not be counted ſo againſt a Prince? nay, why ſhould we not think that himſelf liked it better? You would have had him kill'd privately, and none to have ſeen it, either that future Ages might have loſt the advantage of ſo good an Example; or that they that did this glorious Action, might ſeem to have avoided the Light, and to have acted contrary to Law and Juſtice. You

aggravate the matter by telling us, that it was not done in an uproar, or brought about by any Faction amongſt Great Men, or in the heat of a Rebellion, either of the People, or the Soldiers: that there was no hatred, no fear, no ambition, no blind precipitate raſhneſs in the Caſe; but that it was long conſulted on, and done with deliberation. You did well in leaving off being an *Advocate*, and turn *Grammarian*,* who from the Accidents and Circumſtances of a thing, which in themſelves conſidered ſway neither one way nor other, argue in diſpraiſe of it, before you have proved the thing it ſelf to be either good or bad. See how open you lie: If the Action you are diſcourſing of, be commendable and praiſe-worthy, they that did it deſerve the greater Honour, in that they were prepoſſeſſed with no Paſſions, but did what they did for Vertue's ſake. If there were great difficulty in the enterpriſe, they did well in not going about it raſhly, but upon Advice and Conſideration. Tho for my own part, when I call to mind with how unexpected an importunity and fervency of Mind, and with how unanimous a Conſent, the whole Army, and a great part of the People from almoſt every County in the Kingdom, cried out with one Voice for Juſtice againſt the King, as being the ſole Author of all their Calamities: I cannot but think that theſe things were brought about by a Divine impulſe. Whatever the matter was, whether we conſider the Magiſtrates, or the Body of the People, no Men ever undertook with more Courage, and, which our Adverſaries themſelves confeſs, in a more ſedate temper of Mind, ſo brave an Action, an Action that might have become thoſe famous Heroes of whom we read in former Ages; an Action, by which they enobled not only Laws, and their Execution, which ſeem for

* Salmaſius *was once an Advocate, that is a Counſellor at Law.*

the future equally reſtor'd to high and low againſt one another; but even Juſtice, and to have rendred it after ſo ſignal a Judgment, more illuſtrious and greater than in its own ſelf. We are now come to an end of the 3d Page of the firſt Book, and have not the bare Narrative he promiſ'd us yet. He complains that our Principles are, That a King whoſe Government is *burdenſome and odious*, may lawfully be depoſed: And *by this Doctrine*, ſays he, *if they had had a King a thouſand times better than they had, they would not have ſpared his Life*. Obſerve the Man's ſubtle way of arguing. For I would willingly be inform'd what Conſequence there is in this, unleſs he allows, that a King's Government may be *burdenſome and odious*, who is a thouſand times better than our King was. So, that now he has brought things to this paſs, to make the King that he defends, a thouſand times worſe than ſome whoſe Government notwithſtanding is *burdenſom and odious*, that is, it may be, the moſt monſtrous Tyrant that ever reign'd. I wiſh ye Joy, O ye Kings, of ſo able a Defender. Now the Narrative begins. *They put him to ſeveral ſorts of Torments*. Give an inſtance. *They remov'd him from Priſon to Priſon;* and ſo they might lawfully do; for having been a Tyrant, he became an open Enemy, and was taken in War. *Often changing his Keepers*. Leſt they themſelves ſhould change. *Sometimes they gave him hopes of Liberty, nay, and ſometimes even of reſtoring him to his Crown, upon Articles of Agreement*. It ſeems then the taking away his Life, was not done upon ſo much premeditation, as he talked of before; and that we did not lay hold on all opportunities and means, that offer'd themſelves, to renounce our King. Thoſe things that in the beginning of the War we demanded of him, when he had almoſt brought us under, which things if they were denied us, we

could enjoy no Liberty, nor live in any Safety; thoſe very things we petitioned him for when he was our Priſoner, in a humble, ſubmiſſive way, not once, nor twice, but thrice, and oftner, and were as often denied. When we had now loſt all hopes of the King's complying with us, then was that noble Order of Parliament made, That from that time forward, there ſhould no Articles be ſent to the King; ſo that we left off applying our ſelves to him, not from the time that he began to be a Tyrant, but from the time that we found him incurable. But afterward ſome Parliament-men ſet upon a new Project, and meeting with a convenient opportunity to put it in practice, paſs a Vote to ſend further Propoſals once more to the King. Whoſe Wickedneſs and Folly neareſt reſembles that of the *Roman* Senate, who contrary to the Opinion of *M. Tullius*, and all honeſt Men, voted to ſend Embaſſadors to *M. Anthony*; and the Event had been the ſame, but that it pleaſed God Almighty in his Providence to order it otherwiſe, and to aſſert our Liberty, tho he ſuffer'd them to be enſlav'd: For tho the King did not agree to any thing that might conduce to a firm Peace, and Settlement of things more than he had before, they go and vote themſelves ſatisfied. Then the ſounder part of the Houſe finding themſelves and the Commonwealth betray'd, implore the aid of that Valiant and always Faithful Army to the Commonwealth. Upon which occaſion I can obſerve only this, which yet I am loth to utter; to wit, that our Soldiers underſtood themſelves better than our Senators, and that they ſaved the Commonwealth by their Arms, when th' other by their Votes had almoſt ruined it. Then he relates a great many things in a doleful, lamentable Strain; but he does it ſo ſenſleſly, that he ſeems rather to beg of his Readers that they would be ſorrowful, than to ſtir up any ſuch Paſſion in

them. It grieves him *to think that the King ſhould undergo a Capital Puniſhment after ſuch a manner as no other King ever had done.* Tho he had often told us before, that there never was a King that underwent a Capital Puniſhment at all. Do you uſe to compare ways and manners, ye Coxcomb, when you have no Things, nor Actions to compare with one another? *He ſuffer'd Death,* ſays he, *as a Robber, as a Murderer, as a Parricide, as a Traytor, as a Tyrant.* Is this defending the King? Or is it not rather giving a more ſevere Sentence againſt him than that that we gave? How came you ſo all on a ſudden to be of our mind? He complains *that Executioners in Vizars* [perſonati Carnifices] *cut off the King's Head.* What ſhall we do with this Fellow? He told us before, of *a Murder committed on one in the diſguiſe of a King:* [in Perſonâ Regis.] Now he ſays, 'twas done in the diſguiſe of an Executioner. 'Twere to no purpoſe to take particular notice of every ſilly thing he ſays. He tells Stories of *Boxes on the Ear, and Kicks, that,* he ſays, *were given the King by Common Soldiers, and that 'twas four Shillings a piece to ſee his dead Body.* Theſe and ſuch like Stories which partly are falſe, and partly impertinent, betray the Ignorance and Childiſhneſs of our poor Scholar; but are far from making any Reader ever a whit the ſadder. In good faith, his Son *Charles* had done better to have hired ſome Ballad-ſinger to have bewailed his Fathers Miſfortunes, than this doleful, ſhall I call him, or rather moſt ridiculous Orator, who is ſo dry and inſipid, that there's not the leaſt Spirit in any thing he ſays. Now the Narrative's done, and 'tis hard to ſay what he does next, he runs on ſo ſordidly and irregular. Now he's angry, then he wonders; he neither cares what he talks, nor how; repeats the ſame things ten times over, that could not but look ill, tho he had ſaid them but once. And I perſwade my ſelf, the

extemporary Rimes of ſome antick Jack-pudding may deſerve printing better; ſo far am I from thinking ought he ſays worthy of a ſerious Anſwer. I paſs by his ſtiling the King a *Protector of Religion*, who choſe to make war upon the Church, rather than part with thoſe Church-Tyrants, and Enemies of all Religion, the Biſhops; and how is it poſſible that he ſhould *maintain Religion in its Purity*, that was himſelf a Slave to thoſe impure Traditions, and Ceremonies of theirs? And for our *Sectaries, whoſe Sacrilegious Meetings*, you ſay, *have publick Allowance;* inſtance in any of their Principles, the Profeſſion of which is not openly allow'd of, and countenanced in *Holland?* But in the mean, there's not a more Sacrilegious Wretch in Nature than your ſelf, that always took liberty to ſpeak ill of all ſorts of People. *They could not wound the Commonwealth more dangerouſly than by taking off its Maſter.* Learn, ye abject, home-born Slave; unleſs ye take away the Maſter, ye deſtroy the Commonwealth. That that has a Maſter, is one Man's Property. The word Maſter denotes a private, not a publick Relation. *They perſecute moſt unjuſtly thoſe Miniſters that abhorr'd this Action of theirs.* Leſt you ſhould not know what Miniſters he means, I'll tell you in a few words what manner of Men they were; they were thoſe very Men, that by their Writings and Sermons juſtified taking up Arms againſt the King, and ſtirr'd the People up to it. That daily curſed, as *Deborah* did *Meroz*, all ſuch as would not furniſh the Parliament either with Arms, or Men, or Money. That taught the People out of their Pulpits, that they were not about to fight againſt a King, but a greater Tyrant than either *Saul* or *Ahab* ever were; nay, more a *Nero* than *Nero* himſelf. As ſoon as the Biſhops, and thoſe Clergy-men, whom they daily inveighed againſt, and branded with the odious Names

of Pluraliſts and Non-reſidents, were taken out of their way, they preſently jump, ſome into two, ſome into three of their beſt Benefices; being now warm themſelves, they ſoon unworthily neglected their Charge. Their Covetouſneſs brake through all reſtraints of Modeſty and Religion, and themſelves now labour under the ſame Infamy, that they had loaded their Predeceſſors with; and becauſe their Covetouſneſs is not yet ſatisfied, and their Ambition has accuſtomed them to raiſe Tumults, and be Enemies to Peace, they can't reſt at quiet yet, but preach up Sedition againſt the Magiſtracy, as it is now eſtabliſh'd, as they had formerly done againſt the King. They now tell the People that he was cruelly murdered; upon whom themſelves having heap'd all their Curſes, had devoted him to Deſtruction, whom they had delivered up as it were to the Parliament to be diſpoil'd of his Royalty, and purſu'd with a Holy War. They now complain that the Sectaries are not extirpated; which is a moſt abſurd thing to expect the Magiſtrates ſhould be able to do, who never yet were able, do what they could, to extirpate Avarice and Ambition, thoſe two moſt pernicious Hereſies, and more deſtructive to the Church than all the reſt, out of the very order and tribe of the Miniſters themſelves. For the Sects which they inveigh againſt, I confeſs there are ſuch amongſt us, but they are obſcure, and make no noiſe in the world: The Sects that they are of, are publick and notorious, and much more dangerous to the Church of God. *Simon Magus* and *Diotrephes* were the Ring-leaders of 'em. Yet are we ſo far from perſecuting theſe men, tho they are peſtilent enough, that tho we know them to be ill-affected to the Government, and deſirous of, and endeavouring to work a change, we allow them but too much Liberty. You, that are both a *French-man* and a Vagabond, ſeem diſ-

pleaſ'd that *the Engliſh, more fierce and cruel than their own Maſtiffs*, as your barking Eloquence has it, *have no regard to the lawful Succeſſor and Heir of the Crown: Take no care of the King's Youngeſt Son, nor of the Queen of* Bohemia. I'll make ye no anſwer; you ſhall anſwer your ſelf. *When the frame of a Government is changed from a Monarchy to any other, the new Modellers have no regard to ſucceſſion:* the Application is eaſy; it's in your Book *de Primatu Pape. The great change throughout Three Kingdoms*, you ſay, *was brought about by a ſmall number of men in one of them.* If this were true, that ſmall number of men would have deſerved to have Dominion over the reſt; Valiant men over faint hearted Cowards. *Theſe are they that preſumptuouſly took upon them to change* antiquum Regni Regimen, in alium qui à pluribus Tyrannis teneatur. 'Tis well for them that you cannot find fault with them, without committing a barbarous Solœciſm; you ſhame all *Grammarians.* The Engliſh *will never be able to waſh out this ſtain.* Nay you, though a blot and a ſtain to all Learned men, were never yet able to ſtain the Renown and everlaſting Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, that with ſo great a Reſolution, as we hardly find the like recorded in any Hiſtory, having ſtrugled with, and overcome, not only their Enemies in the Field, but the ſuperſtitious Perſwaſions of the common People, have purchaſ'd to themſelves in general amongſt all poſterity the name of Deliverers: The Body of the people having undertook and performed an enterpriſe, which in other Nations is thought to proceed only from a magnanimity that's peculiar to Heroes. What *the Proteſtants and Primitive Chriſtians* have done, or would do upon ſuch an occaſion, I'll tell ye hereafter, when we come to debate the merits of the Cauſe: In diſcourſing it before, I ſhould be guilty of your fault, who outdo the moſt impertinent Talker

in Nature: You wonder how we'll be able to anſwer *the Jeſuits.* Meddle with your own matters, you Runagate, and be aſham'd of your actions, ſince the Church is aſham'd of you; who, though but of late you ſet your ſelf ſo fiercely and with ſo much Oſtentation againſt the Pope's Supremacy and Epiſcopal Government, are now become your ſelf a very Creature of the Biſhops. You confeſs that *ſome Proteſtants whom you do* not name, *have aſſerted it lawful to depoſe a Tyrant:* But though you do not think fit to name them, I will, becauſe you ſay *they are far worſe than the very Jeſuits themſelves;* they are no other than *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, and *Bucer*, and *Pareus*, and many others. *But then*, you ſay, *they refer it to the Judgment of Learned and Wiſe Men, who ſhall be accounted a Tyrant. But what for men, were theſe? Were they wiſe men, were they men of Learning? Were they anywiſe remarkable, either for Vertue or Nobility?* You may well allow a People that has felt the heavy Yoke of Slavery, to be Wiſe, and Learned, and Noble enough to know what is fit to be done to the Tyrant that has oppreſs'd them; though they neither conſult with *Foreigners* nor *Grammarians*. But that this man was a Tyrant, not only the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* have declared by their actions and expreſs words; but almoſt all the People of both Nations aſſented to it, till ſuch time as by the Tricks and Artifices of the Biſhops they were divided into two Factions: and what if it has pleaſed God to chuſe ſuch men, to execute his Vengeance upon the greateſt Potentates on Earth, as he choſe to be made partakers of the benefit of the Goſpel? *Not many Wiſe, not many Learned, not many Powerful, not many Noble: That by thoſe that are not, he might bring to nought thoſe that are; and that no fleſh might glory in his ſight.* And who are you that babble to the contrary? Dare

you affect the Reputation of a Learned Man? I confess you are pretty well verſ'd in Phraſe-Books, and Lexicons, and Gloſſaries; inſomuch that you ſeem to have ſpent your time in nothing elſe. But you do not make appear that you have read any good Authors with ſo much Judgment as to have benefited by them. Other Copies and various Lections and Words omitted, and corruptions of Texts and the like, theſe you are full of; but no foot-ſtep of any ſolid Learning appears in all you have writ: Or do ye think your ſelf a wiſe man, that quarrel and contend about the meaneſt Trifles that may be? That being altogether ignorant in Aſtronomy and Phyſick, yet are always railing at the Profeſſors of both, whom all men credit in what things belong to their own Sciences, that would be ready to curſe them to the Pit of Hell, that ſhould offer to deprive you of the Vain-glory of having corrected or ſupply'd the leaſt word or letter in any Copy you've criticiz'd upon. And yet y'are mad to hear your ſelf call'd a *Grammarian*. In a certain trifling Diſcourſe of yours, you call Dr. *Hammond* Knave in plain terms, who was one of this King's Chaplains, and one that he valu'd above all the reſt, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had call'd you a *Grammarian*. And I don't queſtion but you would have been as ready to have thrown the ſame reproach upon the King himſelf, if you had heard that he had approv'd his Chaplain's Judgment of ye. Take notice now, how much I (who am but one of thoſe many *Engliſh*, that you have the impudence to call Mad-men, and unlearned, and ignoble, and wicked) ſlight and deſpiſe you, (for that the *Engliſh* Nation in general ſhould take any notice in publick of ſuch a worm as you are, would be an infinite undervaluing of themſelves) who though one ſhould turn you topſie-turvy, and in-ſide out, are but a *Grammarian:* Nay, as if you had made a fooliſher wiſh than *Midas* did, what

ever you meddle with, except when you make Solœciſms, is *Grammar* ſtill. Whoſoever therefore he be, though from among the Dregs of that common People that you are ſo keen upon (for as for thoſe men of Eminency amongſt us, whoſe great Actions evidenced to all men their Nobility, and Vertue, and Conduct, I won't diſgrace them ſo much, as to compare you to them, or them to you) but whoſoever, I ſay, among the Dregs of that common People has but ſuck'd in this Principle, That he was not born for his Prince, but for God and his Countrey; he deſerves the reputation of a Learned, and an Honeſt, and a Wiſe Man more, and is of greater uſe in the world than your ſelf. For ſuch a one is Learned without Letters; you have Letters, but no Learning, that underſtand ſo many Languages, turn over ſo many Volumes, and yet are but a ſheep when all is done.

CHAP. II.

THe Argument that *Salmaſius*, toward the concluſion of his firſt Chapter, urg'd as irrefragable, to wit, that it was really ſo, becauſe all men unanimouſly agreed in it; That very Argument, than which, as he appli'd it, there is nothing more falſe, I, that am now about to diſcourſe of the Right of Kings, may turn upon himſelf with a great deal of Truth. For, whereas he defines *a King* (if that may be ſaid to be defin'd which he makes infinite) *to be a Perſon in whom the Supream Power of the Kingdom reſides, who is anſwerable to God alone, who may do whatſoever pleaſes him, who is bound by no Law;* I will undertake to demonſtrate, not by mine, but by his own Reaſons and Authorities, that there never was a Nation or People of any account (for to ranſack all the unciviliz'd parts of the World were to no pur-

poſe) that ever allow'd this to be their King's Right, or put ſuch exorbitant Power into his hand, as *that he ſhould not be bound by any Law, that he might do what he would, that he ſhould judg all, but be judged of none.* Nor can I perſwade my ſelf, that there ever was any one Perſon beſides *Salmaſius* of ſo ſlaviſh a Spirit, as to aſſert the outragious Enormities of Tyrants to be the Rights of Kings. Thoſe amongſt us that were the greateſt Royaliſts, always abhorr'd this ſordid Opinion: And *Salmaſius* himſelf, as appears by ſome other Writings of his before he was brib'd, was quite of another mind. Inſomuch, that what he here gives out, does not look like the Dictates of a free Subject under a free Government, much leſs in ſo famous a Commonwealth as that of *Holland*, and the moſt eminent Univerſity there; but ſeems to have been penn'd by ſome deſpicable Slave that lay rotting in a Priſon, or a Dungeon. If whatever a King has a mind to do, the Right of Kings will bear him out in (which was a Leſſon that the bloody Tyrant *Antoninus Caracalla*, tho his Step-mother *Julia* preach'd it to him, and endeavour'd to inure him to the practice of it, by making him commit inceſt with her ſelf, yet could hardly ſuck in) then there neither is, nor ever was that King that deſerv'd the name of a Tyrant. They may ſafely violate all the Laws of God and Man: their very being Kings keeps them innocent. What Crime was ever any of them guilty of? they did but make uſe of their own Right upon their own Vaſſals. No King can commit ſuch horrible Cruelties and Outrages, as will not be within this Right of Kings. So that there's no Pretence left for any Complaints or Expoſtulations with any of them. And dare you aſſert, That *this Right of Kings*, as you call it, *is grounded upon the Law of Nations, or rather upon that of Nature*, you Brute Beaſt? for you de-

ſerve not the name of a Man, that are ſo cruel and unjuſt towards all thoſe of your own kind; that endeavour as much as in you lies, ſo to bear down and villify the whole race of Mankind, that were made after the Image of God, as to aſſert and maintain that thoſe cruel and unmerciful Taſkmaſters, that through the ſuperſtitious whimſies, or ſloth, or treachery of ſome perſons, get into the Chair, are provided and appointed by Nature her ſelf, that mild and gentle Mother of us all, to be the Governours of thoſe Nations they enſlave. By which peſtilent Doctrine of yours, having rendred them more fierce and untractable, you not only enable them to make havock of, and trample under foot their miſerable Subjects; but endeavour to arm them for that very purpoſe with the Law of Nature, the Right of Kings, and the very Conſtitutions of Government, than which nothing can be more impious or ridiculous. By my conſent, as *Dionyſius* formerly of a Tyrant became a Schoolmaſter, ſo you of a Grammarian, ſhould become a Tyrant; not that you may have that Regal Licenſe of doing other people harm, but a fair opportunity of periſhing miſerably your ſelf: That, as *Tiberius* complain'd, when he had confin'd himſelf to the Iſland *Capreæ*, you may be reduced into ſuch a condition, as to be ſenſible that you periſh daily. But let us look a little more narrowly into this Right of Kings that you talk of. *This was the ſenſe of the Eaſtern, and of the Weſtern part of the World.* I ſhall not anſwer you with what *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero*, (who are both as credible Authors as any we have) tell us, *viz.* That the people of *Aſia* eaſily ſubmit to ſlavery, but the *Syrians* and the *Jews* are even born to it from the womb. I confeſs there are but few, and thoſe men of great wiſdom and courage, that are either deſirous of Liberty, or capable of uſing it. The greateſt part of the world chuſe to live under

Maſters; but yet they would have them juſt ones. As for ſuch as are unjuſt and tyrannical, neither was God ever ſo much an enemy to Mankind as to enjoyn a neceſſity of ſubmitting to them; nor was there ever any people ſo deſtitute of all ſenſe, and ſunk into ſuch a depth of deſpair, as to impoſe ſo cruel a Law upon themſelves and their poſterity. Firſt, you produce *the words of King Solomon in his Eccleſiaſtes*. And we are as willing to appeal to the Scripture as you. As for *Solomon's* authority, we'll conſider that hereafter, when perhaps we ſhall be better able to underſtand it. Firſt, let us hear God himſelf ſpeak, *Deut.* 17. 14. *When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like as the Nations that are round about me*. Which paſſage I could wiſh all men would ſeriouſly conſider: for hence it appears by the teſtimony of God himſelf; Firſt, that all Nations are at liberty to erect what form of Government they will amongſt themſelves, and to change it when and into what they will. This God affirms in expreſs terms concerning the *Hebrew* Nation; and it does not appear but that other Nations are, as to this reſpect, in the ſame condition. Another remark that this place yields us, is, That a Commonwealth is a more perfect form of Government than a Monarchy, and more ſutable to the condition of Mankind, and in the opinion of God himſelf, better for his own People; for himſelf appointed it, and could hardly be prevail'd withal a great while after, and at their own importunate deſire, to let 'em change it into a Monarchy. But to make it appear that he gave 'em their choice to be govern'd by a ſingle perſon, or by more, ſo they were juſtly govern'd, in caſe they ſhould in time to come reſolve upon a King, he preſcribes Laws for this King of theirs to obſerve, whereby he was forbidden to multiply to himſelf Horſes and

Wives, or to heap up Riches: whence he might eaſily infer, that no power was put into his hands over others, but according to Law, ſince even thoſe actions of his life, which related only to himſelf, were under a Law. He was commanded therefore to tranſcribe with his own hand all the Precepts of the Law, and having writ 'em out, to obſerve and keep 'em, that his mind might not be lifted up above his Brethren. 'Tis evident from hence, that as well the Prince as the People was bound by the Law of *Moſes*. To this purpoſe *Joſephus* writes, a proper and an able Interpreter of the Laws of his own Country, who was admirably well vers'd in the *Jewiſh* Policy, and infinitely preferable to a thouſand obſcure ignorant Rabbins: He has it thus in the fourth Book of his *Antiquities*. Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, &c. "An *Ariſtocracy* is the beſt form of Government; "wherefore do not you endeavour to ſettle any other, "'tis enough for you that God preſides over ye. "But if you will have a King, let him guide him-"ſelf by the Law of God, rather than by his own "wiſdom; and lay a reſtraint upon him, if he offer "at more power than the ſtate of your affairs will al-"low of." Thus he expreſſes himſelf upon this place in *Deuteronomy*. Another *Jewiſh* Author, *Philo Judæus*, who was *Joſephus's* Contemporary, a very ſtudious man in the Law of *Moſes*, upon which he wrote a large Commentary; when in his Book concerning the Creation of the King, he interprets this Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, he ſets a King looſe from the Law no otherwiſe than as an enemy may be ſaid to be ſo: "They," ſays he, "that to the prejudice and deſtruc-"tion of the people acquire great power to them-"ſelves, deſerve not the name of Kings, but that of "Enemies: For their actions are the ſame with "thoſe of an irreconcilable enemy. Nay, they, that "under a pretence of Government are injurious, are

" worſe than open enemies. We may fence our ſelves " againſt the latter; but the malice of the former is " ſo much the more peſtilent, becauſe it is not always " eaſie to be diſcovered." But when it is diſcover'd, why ſhould they not be dealt with as enemies? The ſame Author in his ſecond Book, *Allegoriar. Legis*, " A King," ſays he, " and a Tyrant are Con- " traries." And a little after, " A King ought not " only to command, but alſo to obey." All this is very true, you'll ſay, a King ought to obſerve the Laws, as well as any other man. But what if he will not, what Law is there to puniſh him? I anſwer, the ſame Law that there is to puniſh other men; for I find no exceptions. There is no expreſs Law to puniſh the Prieſts or any other inferior Magiſtrates, who all of 'em, if this opinion of the exemption of Kings from the Penalties of the Law would hold, might by the ſame reaſon claim impunity, what guilt ſoever they contract, becauſe there is no poſitive Law for their puniſhment; and yet I ſuppoſe none of them ever challeng'd ſuch a Prerogative, nor would it ever be allow'd 'em, if they ſhould. Hitherto we have learn'd from the very Text of God's own Law, that a King ought to obey the Laws, and not lift himſelf up above his Brethren. Let us now conſider whether *Solomon* preacht up any other Doctrine, *Ch.* 8. *v.* 2. *I counſel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. Be not haſty to go out of his ſight; ſtand not in an evil thing, for he doth whatſoever pleaſeth him. Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay unto him, what doſt thou?* It is well enough known that here the Preacher directs not his Precepts to the *Sanhedrim*, or to a Parliament, but to private perſons; and ſuch he commands to *keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* But as they ſwear Allegiance to Kings, do not Kings

likewiſe ſwear to obey and maintain the Laws of God, and thoſe of their own Country? So the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* promiſe obedience to *Joſhua*, *Joſh.* 1. 17. *According as we harkned unto Moſes in all things, ſo will we harken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moſes.* Here's an expreſs condition. Hear the Preacher elſe, *Chap.* 9. *v.* 17. *The words of wiſe men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.* The next caution that *Solomon* gives us, is, *Be not haſty to go out of his ſight; ſtand not in an evil thing; for he doth whatſoever pleaſeth him.* That is, he does what he will to Malefactors, whom the Law authorizes him to puniſh, and againſt whom he may proceed with mercy or ſeverity, as he ſees occaſion. Here's nothing like Tyranny; nothing that a good man needs be afraid of. *Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay to him, What doſt thou?* And yet we read of one that not only ſaid to a King, *What doſt thou?* but told him, *Thou haſt done fooliſhly.* But *Samuel*, you may ſay, was an extraordinary Perſon. I anſwer you with your own words, which follow in the 49*th* Page of your Book, *What was there extraordinary*, ſay you, *in Saul or in David?* And ſo ſay I, what was there in *Samuel* extraordinary? He was a Prophet, you'll ſay; ſo are they that now follow his example; for they act according to the will of God, either his reveal'd, or his ſecret will, which your ſelf grant in your 50*th* Page. The Preacher therefore in this place prudently adviſes private perſons not to contend with Princes; for it is even dangerous to contend with any man that's either rich or powerful. But what then? muſt therefore the Nobility of a Nation, and all the inferior Magiſtrates, and the whole body of the people not dare to mutter when a King raves and acts like a mad-man? Muſt they not oppoſe a fooliſh, wicked,

outrageous Tyrant, that perhaps ſeeks the deſtruction of all good men? Muſt they not endeavour to prevent his turning all Divine and Humane things upſide down? Muſt they ſuffer him to maſſacre his People, burn their Cities, and commit ſuch Outrages upon them daily; and finally, to have perfect liberty to do what he liſts without controul?

O de Cappadocis *eques cataſtis!*

Thou ſlaviſh Knight of Cappadocia!

Whom all free People, if you can have the confidence hereafter to ſet your foot within a free Countrey, ought to caſt out from amongſt them, and ſend to ſome remote parts of the World, as a Prodigy of dire portent; or to condemn to ſome perpetual drudgery, as one devoted to ſlavery, ſolemnly obliging themſelves, if they ever let you go, to undergo a worſe ſlavery under ſome cruel, ſilly Tyrant: No man living can either deviſe himſelf, or borrow from any other, Expreſſions ſo full of Cruelty and Contempt, as may not juſtly be apply'd to you. But go on. *When the* Iſraelites *aſked a King of God, they ſaid, they would ſet up a King that ſhould have the ſame Rule and Dominion over them, that the Kings of their neighbour Countries exercis'd over their Subjects. But the Kings of the* Eaſt *we know had an unlimited Power:* as *Virgil* teſtifies,

Regem non ſic Ægyptus *et ingens*
Lydia, *nec Populi* Parthorum, *et* Medus, Hydaſpes
Obſervant.

No Eaſtern *Nation ever did adore*
The Majeſty of Soveraign Princes more.

Firſt, What is that to us, what ſort of Kings the *Iſraelites* deſired? eſpecially ſince God was angry

with them, not only for deſiring ſuch a King as other Nations had, and not ſuch a King as his own Law deſcribes, but barely for deſiring a King at all? Nor is it credible that they ſhould deſire an unjuſt King, and one that ſhould be out of the reach of all Laws, who could not bear the Government of *Samuel's* Sons, though under the power of Laws; but from their Covetouſneſs ſought refuge in a King. And laſtly, The Verſe that you quote out of *Virgil*, does not prove that the Kings of the *Eaſt* had an abſolute unlimited Power; for thoſe Bees, that he there ſpeaks of, and who reverence their Kings, he ſays, more than the *Egyptians* or *Medes* do theirs, by the Authority of the ſame Poet,

——Magnis agitant ſub legibus ævum.

Live under certain Fundamental Laws.

They do not live under a King then, that's tyed to no Law. But now I'll let you ſee how little reaſon you have to think I bear you an ill will. Moſt People think you are a Knave; but I'll make it appear that you have only put on a Knaves Vizor for the preſent. In your Introduction to your Diſcourſe of the Pope's Supremacy, you ſay, that ſome Divines in the Council of *Trent* made uſe of the Government, that is ſaid to be amongſt Bees, to prove the Pope's Supremacy. This fancy you borrow from them, and urge it here with the ſame malice that they did there. Now that very ſame anſwer that you gave them, whilſt you were an honeſt Man, now that you are become a Knave, you ſhall give your ſelf, and pull off with your own hand that Vizor you've now put on: *The Bees*, ſay you, *are a State, and ſo Natural Philoſophers call them; they have a King, but a harmleſs one; he is a Leader, or Captain, rather than a King; he never beats, nor pulls, nor kills his ſubject*

Bees. No wonder they are ſo obſervant of him then: But in good Faith, you had but ill luck to meddle with theſe Bees; for though they are Bees of *Trent*, they ſhow you to be a Drone. *Ariſtotle*, a moſt exact writer of Politicks, affirms that the *Aſiatique* Monarchy, which yet himſelf calls barbarous, was according to Law, *Politic*. 3. And whereas he reckons up five ſeveral ſorts of Monarchies, four of thoſe five he makes Governments according to Laws, and with the conſent of the People; and yet he calls them Tyrannical Forms of Government, becauſe they lodg ſo much power in one man's hand. But the Kingdom of the *Lacedæmonians* he ſays is moſt properly a Kingdom, becauſe there all Power is not in the King. The fifth ſort of Monarchy, which he calls παμβασίλεια, that is, where the King is all in all; and to which he refers that, that you call the Right of Kings, which is a Liberty to do what they liſt; he neither tells us when, nor where any ſuch Form of Government ever obtain'd. Nor ſeems he to have mention'd it for any other purpoſe than to ſhew how unjuſt, abſurd, and tyrannical a Government it is. You ſay, that when *Samuel* would deter the People from chuſing a King, he propounded to them *this Right of Kings*. But whence had *Samuel* it? Had he it from the written Law of God? That can't be. We have obſerv'd already, that the Scriptures afford us a quite other Scheme of Soveraignty. Had *Samuel* it then immediately from God himſelf by Revelation? That's not likely neither; for God diſlikes it, diſcommends it, finds fault with it: So that *Samuel* does not expound to the People any Right of Kings appointed by God; but a corrupt and depraved manner of governing, taken up by the Pride and Ambition of Princes. He tells not the People what their Kings ought to do, but what they would do. He told them the *manner* of their King,

as before he told us of the *manner* of the Prieſts, the Sons of *Eli;* for he uſes the ſame word in both places; (which you in the 33d Page of your Book, by an Hebrew Solœciſm too, call משפת). That manner of theirs was wicked, and odious, and tyrannical: It was no right, but great wrong. The Fathers have commented upon this place too: I'll inſtance in one, that may ſtand for a great many; and that's *Sulpitius Severus*, a contemporary and intimate Friend of St. *Jerom*, and, in St. *Auguſtin's* opinion, a Man of great Wiſdom and Learning. He tells us in his ſacred Hiſtory, that *Samuel* in that place acquaints the People with the imperious Rule of Kings, and how they uſe to lord it over their Subjects. Certainly it cannot be the Right of Kings to domineer and be imperious. But according to *Saluſt*, that lawful Power and Authority that Kings were entruſted with, for the preſervation of the publick Liberty, and the good of the Commonwealth, quickly degenerated into Pride and Tyranny: And this is the ſenſe of all Orthodox Divines, and of all Lawyers upon that place of *Samuel.* And you might have learnt from *Sichardus*, that moſt of the *Rabbins* too were of the ſame mind; at leaſt, not any one of them ever aſſerted that the abſolute inherent Right of Kings is there diſcourſed of. Your ſelf in your 5th Chapter, Page 106. complain, That *not only* Clemens Alexandrinus, *but all other Expoſitors miſtake themſelves upon this Text:* And you, I'll warrant ye, are the only Man that have had the good luck to hit the Mark. Now what a piece of folly and impudence is this in you to maintain, in oppoſition to all Orthodox Expoſitors, that thoſe very Actions which God ſo much condemns, are the Right of Kings, and to pretend Law for them? Though your ſelf confeſs, that that Right is very often exercis'd in committing Outrages, being injurious, con-

tumelious and the like. Was any Man ever to that degree *ſui juris*, ſo much his own Maſter, as that he might lawfully prey upon Mankind, bear down all that ſtood in his way, and turn all things up-ſide-down? Did the *Romans* ever maintain, as you ſay they did, That any man might do theſe things *ſuo jure*, by virtue of ſome inherent Right in himſelf? *Saluſt* indeed makes *C. Memmius*, a Tribune of the People, in an invective Speech of his againſt the Pride of the Nobility, and their eſcaping unpuniſh'd, howſoever they miſbehaved themſelves, to uſe theſe words, *viz.* " To do whatever one has a mind to, " without fear of Puniſhment, is to be a King. This Saying you catch'd hold of, thinking it would make for your purpoſe; but conſider it a little better, and you'll find your ſelf deceived. Does he in that place aſſert the Right of Kings? Or does he not blame the Common People, and chide them for their Sloth, in ſuffering their Nobility to lord it over them, as if they were out of the reach of all Law, and in ſubmitting again to that Kingly Tyranny, which together with their Kings themſelves, their Anceſtors had lawfully and juſtly rejected and baniſh'd from amongſt them? If you had cônſulted *Tully*, you would have underſtood both *Saluſt* and *Samuel* better. In his Oration *pro C. Rabirio*, " There is none of us ignorant," ſays he, " of the " manner of Kings. Theſe are their Lordly Dic- " tates: Mind what I ſay, and do accordingly." Many Paſſages to this purpoſe he quotes out of Poets, and calls them not the Right, but the Cuſtom or the Manner of Kings; and he ſays, We ought to read and conſider them, not only for curioſity ſake, but that we may learn to beware of 'em and avoid 'em. You perceive how miſerably you're come off with *Saluſt*, who, though he be as much an Enemy to Tyranny as any other Author whatſoever, you thought

would have patroniz'd this tyrannical Right that you are eſtabliſhing. Take my word for't, the Right of Kings ſeems to be tottering, and even to further its own ruin, by relying upon ſuch weak Props for its ſupport; and by endeavouring to maintain it ſelf by ſuch Examples and Authorities, as would haſten its down-fall, if it were further off than it is. *The extremity of Right or Law*, you ſay, *is the height of injury, Summum jus ſumma injuria; this ſaying is verified moſt properly in Kings, who when they go to the utmoſt of their Right, fall into thoſe courſes, in which* Samuel *makes the Right of Kings to conſiſt.* And 'tis a miſerable Right, which, when you have ſaid all you can for, you can no otherwiſe defend, than by confeſſing, that it is the greateſt injury that may be. The extremity of Right or Law is ſaid to be, when a man ties himſelf up to Niceties, dwells upon Letters and Syllables, and in the mean time neglects the intent and equity of the Law; or when a written Law is cunningly and malicioufly interpreted; this *Cicero* makes to have been the riſe of that common ſaying. But ſince 'tis certain that all Right flows from the fountain of Juſtice, ſo that nothing can poſſibly be any man's right that is not juſt, 'tis a moſt wicked thing in you to affirm that for a King to be unjuſt, rapacious, tyrannical, and as ill as the worſt of 'em ever were, is according to the right of Kings; and to tell us that a Holy Prophet would have perſwaded the People to ſuch a ſenſeleſs thing. For whether written or unwritten, whether extreme or remiſs, what Right can any Man have to be injurious? Which leſt you ſhould confeſs to be true of other Men, but not of Kings, I have one Man's Authority to object to you, who I think was a King likewiſe, and profeſſes that that Right of Kings that you ſpeak of, is odious both to God and himſelf: It is in the 94th Pſalm, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity*

have fellowſhip with thee, that frameth miſchief by a Law? Be not therefore ſo injurious to God, as to aſcribe this Doctrine to him, *viz.* that all manner of wicked and flagitious Actions are but the Right of Kings; ſince himſelf tells us, that he abhors all fellowſhip with wicked Princes for this very reaſon, Becauſe under pretence of Soveraignity they create Miſery and Vexation to their Subjects. Neither bring up a falſe Accuſation againſt a Prophet of God; for by making him to teach us in this place what the Right of Kings is, you do not produce the right *Samuel*, but ſuch another empty Shadow as was raiſed by the Witch of *Endor*. Tho for my own part, I verily believe that that infernal *Samuel* would not have been ſo great a Lyar, but that he would have confeſs'd, that what you call the Right of Kings, is Tyranny. We read indeed of Impieties countenanced by Law, *Jus datum ſceleri:* you your ſelf confeſs, that they are bad Kings that have made uſe of this boundleſs Licenſe of theirs to do every thing. Now this Right that you have introduc'd for the Deſtruction of Mankind, not proceeding from God, as I have prov'd it does not, muſt needs come from the Devil; and that it does really ſo, will appear more clearly hereafter. *By virtue of this Liberty*, ſay you, *Princes may if they will.* And for this, you pretend to have *Cicero's* Authority. I'm always willing to mention your Authorities, for it generally happens that the very Authors you quote them out of, give you an Anſwer themſelves. Hear elſe what *Cicero* ſays in his 4th *Phillippick*, " What cauſe of War can be " more juſt and warrantable than to avoid Slavery? " For tho a People may have the good fortune to " live under a gentle Maſter, yet thoſe are in a mi- " ſerable Condition whoſe Prince may tyrannize " over them if he will." May, that is, can; has Power enough ſo to do. If he meant it of his Right,

he would contradict himſelf, and make that an unjuſt Cauſe of War, which himſelf had affirm'd with the ſame breath to be a moſt juſt one. It is not therefore the Right of all Kings that you deſcribe, but the Injurioufneſs, and Force, and Violence of ſome. Then you tell us what private men may do. *A private Man*, ſay you, *may Lie, may be Ungrateful;* and ſo may Kings, but what then? May they therefore Plunder, Murder, Raviſh without controul? 'Tis equally prejudicial and deſtructive to the Commonwealth, whether it be their own Prince, or a Robber, or a Foreign Enemy that Spoils, Maſſacres, and Enſlaves them. And queſtionleſs, being both alike Enemies of Humane Society, the one as well as the other may lawfully be oppos'd and puniſh'd; and their own Prince the rather, becauſe he, tho raiſed to that Dignity by the Honours that his People have conferr'd upon him, and being bound by his Oath to defend the Publick Safety, betrays it notwithſtanding all. At laſt you grant, That *Moſes preſcribes Laws, according to which the King that the People of* Iſrael *ſhould chuſe, ought to govern, tho different from this Right that* Samuel *propoſes;* which words contain a double Contradiction to what you have ſaid before. For whereas you had affirm'd, That a King was bound by no Law, here you confeſs he is. And you ſet up two contrary Rights, one deſcribed by *Moſes*, and another by *Samuel*, which is abſurd. *But*, ſays the Prophet, *you ſhall be Servants to your King*. Tho I ſhould grant that the *Iſraelites* were really ſo, it would not preſently follow, that it was the Right of their Kings to have them ſo; but that by the Uſurpation and Injuſtice of moſt of them, they were reduc'd to that Condition. For the Prophet had foretold them, that that importunate Petition of theirs would bring a Puniſhment from God upon them; not becauſe it would be their King's Right

ſo to haraſs them, but becauſe they themſelves had deſerved it ſhould be ſo. If Kings are out of the reach of the Law, ſo as that they may do what they liſt, they are more abſolute than any Maſters, and their Subjects in a more deſpicable Condition than the worſt of Slaves. The Law of God provided ſome redreſs for them, tho of another Nation, if their Maſters were cruel and unreaſonable towards them. And can we imagine that the whole Body of the People of a free Nation, tho oppreſs'd and tyranniz'd over, and prey'd upon, ſhould be left remedileſs? That they had no Law to protect them, no Sanctuary to betake themſelves to? Can we think that they were delivered from the Bondage that they were under to the *Egyptian* Kings, to be reduced into a worſe to one of their own Brethren? All which being neither agreeable to the Law of God, nor to common Senſe, nothing can be more evident than that the Prophet declares to the People the *Manner*, and not the Right of Kings; nor the *Manner* of all Kings, but of moſt. Then you come to the *Rabbins*, and quote two of them, but you have as bad luck with them here, as you had before. For it is plain, that that other Chapter that *Rabbi Joſes* ſpeaks of, and which contains, he ſays, the Right of Kings, is that in *Deuteronomy*, and not in *Samuel*. For *Rabbi Judas* ſays very truly, and againſt you, that that Diſcourſe of *Samuel's* was intended only to frighten the People. 'Tis a moſt pernicious Doctrine to maintain that to be any ones Right, which in it ſelf is flat Injuſtice, unleſs you have a mind to ſpeak by contraries. And that *Samuel* intended to affrighten them, appears by the 18th Verſe, *And ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your King, which ye ſhall have choſen you, and I will not hear you in that day, ſaith the Lord.* That was to be their Puniſhment for their Obſtinacy in perſiſting to deſire a King againſt

the Mind and Will of God, and yet they are not forbidden here either to pray againſt him, or to endeavour to rid themſelves of him. For if they might lawfully pray to God againſt him, without doubt they might uſe all lawful means for their own Deliverance. For what man living, when he finds himſelf in any Calamity, betakes himſelf to God, ſo as to neglect his own Duty in order to a Redreſs, and rely upon his lazy Prayers only? But be it how it will, what is all this to the Right of Kings, or of the *Engliſh* People? who neither aſked a King againſt the Will of God, nor had one appointed us by God, but by the Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governours, appointed a King over us by Laws of our own, neither in Obedience to, nor againſt any Command of God? And this being the Caſe, for ought I ſee, we have done well in depoſing our King, and are to be commended for it, ſince the *Iſraelites* ſinned in aſking one. And this the Event has made appear; for we, when we had a King, prayed to God againſt him, and he heard us, and delivered us: But the *Jews* (who not being under a Kingly Government, deſired a King) he ſuffered to live in Slavery under one, till, at laſt, after their return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, they betook themſelves to their former Government again. Then you come to give us a diſplay of your Talmudical Learning, but you have as ill ſucceſs with that, as you have had with all the reſt. For whilſt you are endeavouring to prove that Kings are not liable to any Temporal Judicature, you quote an Authority out of the Treatiſe of the *Sanhedrim*, *That the King neither is judged of others, nor does himſelf judg any*. Which is againſt the Peoples own Petition in *Samuel;* for they deſired a King that might judg them. You labour in vain to ſalve this, by telling us, that it is to be underſtood of thoſe Kings that reigned after the *Babyloniſh* Cap-

tivity. For then, what ſay ye to *Maimonides?* He makes *this difference betwixt the Kings of* Iſrael, *and thoſe of* Juda; *that the Kings of the Poſterity of* David *judg, and are judged; but the Kings of* Iſrael *do neither.* You contradict and quarrel with your ſelf or your *Rabbins*, and ſtill do my work for me. *This*, ſay you, *is not to be underſtood of the Kings of* Iſrael *in their firſt Inſtitution;* for in the 17th Verſe 'tis ſaid, *You ſhall be his Servants;* that is, he ſhall uſe ye to it, not that he ſhall have any Right to make you ſo. Or if you underſtand it of their Kings Right, 'tis but a Judgment of God upon them for aſking a King; the effects of which they were ſenſible of under moſt of their Kings, tho not perhaps under all. But you need no Antagoniſts, you are ſuch a perpetual Adverſary to your ſelf. For you tell us now a Story, as if you were arguing on my ſide, how that firſt *Ariſtobulus*, and after him *Jannæus*, ſirnamed *Alexander*, did not receive that Kingly right that they pretended to, from the *Sanhedrim*, that great Treaſury and Oracle of the Laws of that Nation, but uſurped it by degrees againſt the Will of the Senate. For whoſe ſake, you ſay, that childiſh Fable of the principal Men of that Aſſembly *being ſtruck dead by the Angel* Gabriel, was firſt invented. And thus you confeſs that this magnificent Prerogative, upon which you ſeem mainly to rely, *viz. That Kings are not to be judged by any upon Earth*, " Was grounded upon " this worſe than an old Wives Tale, that is, upon " a Rabbinical Fable. But that the *Hebrew* Kings " were liable to be call'd in queſtion for their Actions, " and to be puniſhed with ſtripes, if they were found " faulty," *Sichardus* ſhows at large out of the Writings of the *Rabbins*, to which Author you are indebted for all that you employ of that ſort of Learning, and yet you have the Impudence to be thwarting with him. Nay, we read in the Scripture that *Saul* thought

himſelf bound by a Decree of his own making; and in Obedience thereunto, that he caſt Lots with his Son *Jonathan* which of them two ſhould die. *Uzzias* likewiſe, when he was thruſt out of the Temple by the Prieſts as a Leper, ſubmitted as every private Perſon in ſuch a Caſe ought to do, and ceas'd to be a King. Suppoſe he ſhould have refuſed to go out of the Temple, and lay down the Government, and live alone, and had reſolved to aſſert that Kingly Right of not being ſubject to any Law; do you think the Prieſts, and the People of the *Jews* would have ſuffered the Temple to be defiled, the Laws violated, and live themſelves in danger of the Infection? It ſeems there are Laws againſt a leprous King, but none againſt a Tyrant. Can any Man poſſibly be ſo mad and fooliſh as to fancy that the Laws ſhould ſo far provide for the Peoples Health, as tho ſome noiſome Diſtemper ſhould ſeize upon the King himſelf, yet to prevent the Infection's reaching them, and make no Proviſion for the Security of their Lives and Eſtates, and the very being of the whole State, againſt the Tyranny of a cruel, unjuſt Prince, which is incomparably the greater miſchief of the two? *But*, ſay you, *there can be no precedent ſhown of any one King, that has been arraigned in a Court of Juſtice, and condemn'd to dye.* *Sichardus* anſwers that well enough. 'Tis all one, ſays he, as if one ſhould argue on this manner. The Emperor of *Germany* never was ſummoned to appear before one of the Prince-Electors; therefore if the Prince Elector *Palatine* ſhould impeach the Emperor, he were not bound to plead to it; tho it appears by the Golden Bull, that *Charles* the Fourth ſubjected himſelf and his Succeſſors to that Cognizance and Juriſdiction. But no wonder if Kings were indulged in their Ambition, and their Exorbitances paſſed by, when the times were ſo corrupt and depraved, that even private Men,

if they had either Money or Intereſt, might eſcape the Law, tho guilty of Crimes of never ſo high a Nature. That ἀνυπεύθυνον, that you ſpeak of, that is to be wholly independent upon any other, and accountable to none upon Earth, which you ſay is peculiar to the Majeſty of Sovereign Princes, *Ariſtotle* in the 4*th* Book of his *Pol. Ch.* 10. calls a moſt Tyrannical Form of Government, and not in the leaſt to be endured by a free People. And that Kings are not liable to be queſtion'd for their Actions, you prove by the Teſtimony of a very Worthy Author, that Barbarous Tyrant *Mark Anthony*, one of thoſe that ſubverted the Commonwealth of *Rome:* And yet he himſelf, when he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, ſummon'd *Herod* before him, to anſwer to a Charge of Murder, and would have puniſhed him, but that *Herod* brib'd him. So that *Anthony's* aſſerting this Prerogative Royal, and your *Defence of King Charles*, come both out of one and the ſame Spring. *And 'tis very reaſonable*, ſay you, *that it ſhould be ſo; for Kings derive their Authority from God alone.* What Kings are thoſe, I pray, that do ſo? For I deny that there ever were any ſuch Kings in the World, that derived their Authority *from God alone. Saul* the firſt King of *Iſrael* had never reign'd, but that the People deſired a King, even againſt the Will of God; and tho he was proclaimed King once at *Mizpah*, yet after that he lived a private Life, and look'd to his Fathers Cattel, till he was created ſo the ſecond time by the People at *Gilgal.* And what think ye of *David?* Tho he had been anointed once by God, was he not anointed the ſecond time in *Hebron* by the Tribe of *Judah*, and after that by all the People of *Iſrael*, and that after a mutual Covenant betwixt him and them? 2 *Sam.* 5. 1 *Chron.* 11. Now a Covenant lays an Obligation upon Kings, and reſtrains them within Bounds.

Solomon, you ſay, *ſucceeded him in the Throne of the Lord, and was acceptable to all men:* 1 *Chron.* 29. So, that 'tis ſomething to be well-pleaſing in the Eyes of the People. *Jehoiadah* the Prieſt made *Joaſh* King, but firſt he made him and the People enter into a Covenant to one another, 2 *Kings* 11. I confeſs that theſe Kings, and all that reign'd of *David's* Poſterity, were appointed to the Kingdom both by God and the People; but of all other Kings of what Country ſoever, I affirm, that they are made ſo by the People only; nor can you make it appear, that they are appointed by God any otherwiſe than as all other things, great and ſmall, are ſaid to be appointed by him, becauſe nothing comes to paſs without his Providence. So that I allow the Throne of *David* was in a peculiar manner call'd, *The Throne of the Lord;* whereas the Thrones of other Princes are no otherwiſe God's, than all other things in the World are his; which if you would, you might have learnt out of the ſame Chapter, Ver. 11, 12. *Thine, O Lord, is the greatneſs,* &c. *for all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reigneſt over all.* And this is ſo often repeated, not to puff up Kings, but to put them in mind, tho they think themſelves Gods, that yet there is a God above them, to whom they owe whatever they are and have. And thus we eaſily underſtand what the Poets, and the *Eſſenes* among the *Jews* mean, when they tell us, That 'tis by God that Kings reign, and that they are of *Jupiter;* for ſo all of us are of God, we are all his Off-ſpring. So that this univerſal Right of Almighty God's, and the Intereſt that he has in Princes, and their Thrones, and all that belongs to them, does not at all derogate from the Peoples Right; but that notwithſtanding all this, *all other Kings,* not particularly and by name appointed by God, owe their Sovereignty to the People

only, and conſequently are accountable to them for the management of it. The truth of which Doctrine, tho the Common People are apt to flatter their Kings, yet they themſelves acknowledg, whether good ones, as *Sarpedon* in *Homer* is deſcribed to have been; or bad ones, as thoſe Tyrants in the Lyric Poet:

Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶι τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα, &c.

Glaucus, *in* Lycia *we're ador'd like Gods:*
What makes 'twixt us and others ſo great odds?

He reſolves the Queſtion himſelf: "Becauſe," ſays he, "we excel others in Heroical Vertues: Let us "fight manfully then, ſays he, leſt our Countrymen "tax us with Sloth and Cowardice." In which words he intimates to us, both that Kings derive their Grandeur from the People, and that for their Conduct and Behaviour in War, they are accountable to them. Bad Kings indeed, tho to caſt ſome Terror into Peoples minds, and beget a Reverence of themſelves, they declare to the World, that God only is the Author of Kingly Government; in their Hearts and Minds they reverence no other Deity but that of Fortune, according to that paſſage in *Horace:*

Te Dacus aſper, te profugi Scythæ,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt Tyranni.

Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.

"All barb'rous People, and their Princes too,
"All Purple Tyrants honour you;
"The very wandring *Scythians* do.

" Support the Pillar of the *Roman* State,
" Leſt all Men be involv'd in one Mans fate.
" Continue us in Wealth and Peace;
" Let Wars and Tumults ever ceaſe.

So that if 'tis by God that Kings now adays reign, 'tis by God too that the People aſſert their own Liberty; ſince all things are of him, and by him. I'm ſure the Scripture bears witneſs to both; that by him Kings reign, and that by him they are caſt down from their Thrones. And yet experience teaches us, that both theſe things are brought about by the People, oftner than by God. Be this Right of Kings therefore what it will, the Right of the People is as much from God as it. And when ever any People, without ſome viſible Deſignation of God himſelf, appoint a King over them, they have the ſame Right to put him down, that they had to ſet him up at firſt. And certainly 'tis a more God-like Action to depoſe a Tyrant, than to ſet up one: And there appears much more of God in the People, when they depoſe an unjuſt Prince, than in a King that oppreſſes an innocent People. Nay, the People have a Warrant from God to judg wicked Princes; for God has conferr'd this very honour upon thoſe that are dear to him, that celebrating the praiſes of Chriſt their own King, " they ſhall bind in Chains the Kings of the Nations, (under which Appellation all Tyrants under the Goſpel are included) " and execute " the Judgments written upon them that challenge " to themſelves an Exemption from all written Laws," *Pſalm* 149. So that there's but little reaſon left for that wicked and fooliſh Opinion, that Kings who commonly are the worſt of Men, ſhould be ſo high in God's account, as that he ſhould have put the World under them, to be at their beck, and be govern'd according to their humour; and that for their ſakes

alone he ſhould have reduced all Mankind, whom he made after his own Image, into the ſame condition with Brutes. After all this, rather than ſay nothing, you produce *M. Aurelius*, as a Countenancer of Tyranny; but you had better have let him alone. I can't ſay whether he ever affirm'd that Princes are accountable only before God's Tribunal. But *Xiphiline* indeed, out of whom you quote thoſe words of *M. Aurelius*, mentions a certain Government, which he calls an *Autarchy*, of which he makes God the only Judg: περὶ αὐταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. But that this word Autarchy and Monarchy are Synonymous, I cannot eaſily perſwade my ſelf to believe. And the more I read what goes before, the leſs I find my ſelf inclinable to think ſo. And certainly whoever conſiders the Context, will not eaſily apprehend what coherence this Sentence has with it, and muſt needs wonder how it comes ſo abruptly into the Text; eſpecially ſince *Marcus Aurelius*, that Mirror of Princes, carried himſelf towards the People, as *Capitolinus* tells us, juſt as if *Rome* had been a Commonwealth ſtill. And we all know that when it was ſo, the Supreme Power was in the People. The ſame Emperor honoured the memory of *Tharſeas*, and *Helvidius*, and *Cato*, and *Dio*, and *Brutus*; who all were Tyrant-ſlayers, or affected the reputation of being thought ſo. In the firſt Book that he writes of his own Life, he ſays that he propoſ'd to himſelf a form of Government, under which all men might equally enjoy the benefit of the Law, and Right and Juſtice be equally adminiſtred to all. And in his fourth Book he ſays, The Law is Maſter, and not he. He acknowledged the right of the Senate and the People, and their Intereſt in all things: We are ſo far, ſays he, from having any thing of our own, that we live in your Houſes. Theſe things *Xiphiline* relates of him. So little did he arrogate ought to

himſelf by virtue of his *Sovereign Right*. When he died, he recommended his Son to the *Romans* for his Succeſſor, if they ſhould think he deſerv'd it. So far was he from pretending to a Commiſſion from Heaven to exerciſe that abſolute and imaginary Right of Soveraignty, that Autarchy, that you tell us of. *All the Latin and Greek Books are full of Authorities of this nature.* But we have heard none of 'em yet. *So are the Jewiſh Authors.* And yet, you ſay, *The Jews in many things allow'd but too little to their Princes.* Nay, you'l find that both the *Greeks* and the *Latins* allow'd much leſs to Tyrants. And how little the *Jews* allow'd them, would appear, if that Book that *Samuel* wrote of *the manner of the Kingdom* were extant; which Book the *Hebrew* Doctors tell us their Kings tore in pieces and burnt, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize over the People without controul or fear of puniſhment. Now look about ye again, and catch hold of ſomewhat or other. In the laſt place you come to wreſt *David's* words in the 17*th* Pſalm, *Let my ſentence come forth from thy preſence.* Therefore, ſays *Barnachmoni*, *God only can judg the King*. And yet it's moſt likely that *David* penn'd this Pſalm when he was perſecuted by *Saul*, at which time, though himſelf were anointed, he did not decline being judged even by *Jonathan: Notwithſtanding if there be iniquity in me, ſlay me thy ſelf*, 1 *Sam.* 20. At leaſt in this Pſalm he does no more than what any perſon in the world would do upon the like occaſion; being falſely accuſ'd by Men, he appeals to the judgment of God himſelf, *Let thine eyes look upon the thing that is right; thou haſt proved and viſited mine heart, &c.* What relation has this to a Temporal Judicature? Certainly they do no good office to this right of Kings, that thus diſcover the weakneſs of its foundation. Then you come with that thredbare argument, which of all others is moſt in

vogue with our Courtiers, *Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned, Pſal.* 51. 6. As if *David* in the midſt of his Repentance, when overwhelm'd with ſorrow, and almoſt drown'd in tears, he was humbly imploring God's Mercy, had any thoughts of this Kingly right of his when his heart was ſo low, that he thought he deſerv'd not the right of a ſlave. And can we think that he deſpiſ'd all the People of God, his own Brethren, to that degree, as to believe that he might murder 'em, plunder 'em, and commit Adultery with their Wives, and yet not ſin againſt them all this while? So Holy a Man could never be guilty of ſuch inſufferable Pride, nor have ſo little knowledg either of himſelf, or of his duty to his Neighbour. So without doubt, when he ſays, *Againſt thee only*, he meant, againſt thee chiefly have I ſinned, *&c.* But whatever he means, the words of a Pſalm are too full of Poetry, and this Pſalm too full of Paſſion, to afford us any exact definitions of Right and Juſtice; nor is it proper to argue any thing of that nature from 'em. *But David was never queſtion'd for this, nor made to plead for his life before the Sanhedrim.* What then? How ſhould they know that any ſuch thing had been, which was done ſo privately, that perhaps for ſome years after not above one or two were privy to it, as ſuch ſecrets there are in moſt Courts? 2 *Sam.* 12. *Thou haſt done this thing in ſecret.* Beſides, what if the Senate ſhould neglect to puniſh private perſons? Would any infer that therefore they ought not to be puniſh'd at all? But the reaſon why *David* was not proceeded againſt as a Malefactor, is not much in the dark: He had condemn'd himſelf in the 5*th* verſe, *The man that hath done this thing ſhall ſurely die.* To which the Prophet preſently replies, *Thou art the man.* So that in the Prophet's judgment as well as his own, he was worthy of death; but God by his Soveraign Right over all

things, and of his great Mercy to *David*, abſolves him from the guilt of his Sin, and the ſentence of death which he had pronounc'd againſt himſelf; verſe 13*th*, *The Lord hath put away thy ſin, thou ſhalt not die*. The next thing you do is to rail at ſome bloody Advocate or other, and you take a deal of pains to refute the concluſion of his Diſcourſe. Let him look to that; I'll endeavour to be as ſhort as I can in what I've undertaken to perform. But ſome things I muſt not paſs by without taking notice of; as firſt and formoſt your notorious Contradictions; for in the 30th Page you ſay, *The Iſraelites do not deprecate an unjuſt, rapacious, tyrannical King, one as bad as the worſt of Kings are*. And yet, *Page* 42. you are very ſmart upon your Advocate, for maintaining that the *Iſraelites* aſked for a Tyrant: *Would they have leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the Fire*, ſay you, *and groan under the Cruelty of the worſt of Tyrants, rather than live under bad Judges, eſpecially being us'd to ſuch a Form of Government?* Firſt you ſaid the *Hebrews* would rather live under Tyrants than Judges, here you ſay they would rather live under Judges than Tyrants; and that *they deſired nothing leſs than a Tyrant*. So that your Advocate may anſwer you out of your own Book. For according to your Principles 'tis every King's Right to be a Tyrant. What you ſay next is very true, *The Supreme Power was then in the People, which appears by their own rejecting their Judges, and making choice of a Kingly Government*. Remember this when I ſhall have occaſion to make uſe of it. You ſay, that *God gave the Children of Iſrael a King, as a thing good and profitable for them, and deny that he gave them one in his anger, as a Puniſhment for their Sin*. But that will receive an eaſy anſwer; for to what purpoſe ſhould they cry to God becauſe of the King that they had choſen, if it were not becauſe a Kingly Government is an evil thing;

not in it ſelf, but becauſe it moſt commonly does, as *Samuel* forewarns the People that theirs would, degenerate into Pride and Tyranny? If y'are not yet ſatisfied, hark what you ſay your ſelf; acknowledg your own hand, and bluſh; 'tis in your *Apparatus ad Primatum: God gave them a King in his anger*, ſay you, *being offended at their Sin in rejecting him from ruling over them; and ſo the Chriſtian Church, as a Puniſhment for its forſaking the pure Worſhip of God, has been ſubjected to the more than Kingly Government of one mortal Head.* So that if your own Compariſon holds, either God gave the Children of *Iſrael* a King as an evil thing, and as a puniſhment; or he has ſet up the Pope for the good of the Church. Was there ever any thing more light and mad than this Man is? Who would truſt him in the ſmalleſt matters, that in things of ſo great concern ſays and unſays without any conſideration in the World? You tell us in your 29th Page, *That by the Conſtitution of all Nations, Kings are bound by no Law.* That *this had been the judgment both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern part of the World.* And yet *pag.* 43. you ſay, *That all the Kings of the Eaſt ruled κατὰ νόμον, according to Law, nay that the very Kings of* Egypt *in all matters whatſoever, whether great or ſmall, were tied to Laws.* Tho in the beginning of this Chapter you had undertook to demonſtrate, That *Kings are bound by no Laws, that they give Laws to others, but have none preſcribed to themſelves.* For my part I've no reaſon to be angry with ye, for either y'are mad, or of our ſide. You do not defend the King's Cauſe, but argue againſt him, and play the fool with him: Or if y'are in earneſt, that Epigram of *Catullus:*

Tantò peſſimus omnium Poeta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.

The worſt of Poets, I my ſelf declare,
By how much you the beſt of Patrons are.

That Epigram, I ſay, may be turn'd, and very properly applied to you; for there never was ſo good a Poet, as you are a bad Patron. Unleſs *that ſtupidity*, that you complain your Advocate is *immers'd over head and ears in*, has blinded the eyes of your own underſtanding too, I'll make ye now ſenſible that y'are *became a very Brute* your ſelf. For now you come and confeſs that *the Kings of all Nations have Laws preſcribed to them*. But then you ſay again, *They are not ſo under the power of them, as to be liable to cenſure or puniſhment of death, if they break them*. Which yet you have proved neither from Scripture, nor from any good Author. Obſerve then in ſhort; to preſcribe Municipal Laws to ſuch as are not bound by them, is ſilly and ridiculous; and to puniſh all others, but leave ſome one man at liberty to commit all ſort of Impieties without fear of puniſhment, is moſt unjuſt; the Law being general, and not making any exception; neither of which can be ſuppoſ'd to hold place in the Conſtitutions of any wiſe Law-maker, much leſs in thoſe of God's own making. But that all may perceive how unable you are to prove out of the writings of the *Jews*, what you undertook in this Chapter to make appear by 'em, you confeſs of your own accord, That *there are ſome Rabbins, who affirm that their Forefathers ought not to have had any other King than God himſelf; and that he ſet other Kings over them for their puniſhment*. And of thoſe mens opinion, I declare my ſelf to be. It is not fitting nor decent that any Man ſhould be a King that does not far excel all his Subjects. But where Men are Equals, as in all Governments very many are, they ought to have an equal intereſt in the Government, and hold it by turns. But that all Men ſhould be Slaves to one that is their Equal, or (as it happens moſt commonly) far inferior to 'em, and very often a Fool, who can ſo much as entertain ſuch a thought without Indignation? Nor does *it make for the Honour*

of a Kingly Government, that our Saviour was of the Posterity of some Kings, more than it does for the commendation of the worst of Kings, that he was the Offspring of some of them too. *The* Messias *is a King*. We acknowledg him so to be, and rejoice that he is so; and pray that his Kingdom may come, for he is worthy: Nor is there any other either equal, or next to him. And yet a Kingly Government being put into the hands of unworthy and undeserving Persons, as most commonly it is, may well be thought to have done more harm than good to Mankind. Nor does it follow for all this that all kings, as such, are Tyrants. But suppose it did, as for argument-sake I'll allow it does, lest you should think I'm too hard with ye; make you the best use of it you can. *Then*, say you, *God himself may properly be said to be the King of Tyrants, nay, himself the worst of all Tyrants.* If the first of these conclusions does not follow, another does, which may be drawn from most parts of your Book, *viz.* That you perpetually contradict, not only the Scriptures, but your own self. For in the very last foregoing Period you had affirmed, that *God was the King of all things, having himself created them.* Now he created Tyrants and Devils, and consequently by your own reason, is the King of such. The second of these Conclusions we detest, and wish that blasphemous Mouth of yours were stopt up, with which you affirm God to be the worst of Tyrants, if he be, as you often say he is, the King and Lord of such. Nor do you much advantage your Cause by telling us that *Moses was a King, and had the absolute and supreme Power of a King*. For we could be content that any other were so, that could *refer our matters to God*, as *Moses* did, and consult with him about our affairs, *Exod.* 18. *v.* 19. But neither did *Moses*, notwithstanding his great familiarity with God, ever assume a Liberty of doing what he would himself. What

ſays he of himſelf? *The People come unto me to enquire of God.* They came not then to receive *Moſes's* own Dictates and Commands. Then ſays *Jethro*, ver. 19. *Be thou for the people to Godward, that thou mayſt bring their cauſes unto God.* And *Moſes* himſelf ſays, *Deut.* 4. v. 5. *I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me.* Hence it is that he is ſaid to have been *faithful in all the Houſe of God*, Numb. 12. v. 7. So that the Lord *Jehovah* himſelf was the People's King, and *Moſes* no other than as it were an Interpreter or a Meſſenger betwixt him and them. Nor can you without Impiety and Sacrilege, transfer this abſolute Supream Power and Authority from God to a Man; (not having any Warrant from the Word of God ſo to do) which *Moſes* uſed only as a Deputy or Subſtitute to God; under whoſe Eye, and in whoſe Preſence, himſelf and the People always were. But now, for an aggravation of your wickedneſs, though here you make *Moſes* to have exercif'd an abſolute and unlimitted Power, in your *Apparat. ad Primat.* Page 230. you ſay that *he together with the ſeventy Elders ruled the people, and that himſelf was the chief of the people, but not their Maſter.* If *Moſes* therefore were a King, as certainly he was, and the beſt of Kings, and had a *Supream and Legal Power*, as you ſay he had, and yet neither was the People's Maſter nor govern'd them alone; then according to you, Kings, tho indued with the Supream Power, are not by virtue of that Sovereign and Kingly Right of theirs Lords over the People, nor ought to govern them alone; much leſs, according to their own Will and Pleaſure. After all this, you have the impudence to feign a Command from God to that People, *to ſet up a King over them, as ſoon as they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Holy Land*, Deut. 17. For you craftily leave out the former words, *and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me*, &c. And now call to mind what you ſaid

before, *Page* 42. and what I ſaid I ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of, *viz. That the Power was then in the People, and that they were entirely free.* What follows argues you either mad or irreligious; take whether you liſt: *God,* ſay you, *having ſo long before appointed a Kingly Government, as beſt and moſt proper for that People; What ſhall we ſay to* Samuel's *oppoſing it, and God's own acting, as if himſelf were againſt it? How do theſe things agree?* He finds himſelf caught, and obſerve now with how great malice againſt the Prophet, and impiety againſt God, he endeavours to diſentangle himſelf. *We muſt conſider,* ſays he, *that* Samuel's *own Sons then judged the People, and the People rejected them becauſe of their corruption; now* Samuel *was loth his Sons ſhould be laid aſide, and God to gratify the Prophet, intimated to him, as if himſelf were not very well pleaſed with it.* Speak out ye Wretch, and never mince the matter: You mean, God dealt deceitfully with *Samuel,* and he with the People. It is not your Advocate, but your ſelf that are *frantick and diſtracted;* who caſt off all reverence to God Almighty, ſo you may but ſeem to honour the King. Would *Samuel* prefer the Intereſt of his Sons and their Ambition, and their Covetouſneſs, before the general good of all the People, when they aſked a thing that would be good and profitable for them? Can we think that he would impoſe upon them by cunning and ſubtilty, and make them believe things that were not? Or if we ſhould ſuppoſe all this true of *Samuel,* would God himſelf countenance and gratify him in it; would he diſſemble with the People? So that either that was not the Right of Kings which *Samuel* taught the People; or elſe that Right by the Teſtimony, both of God and the Prophet, was an evil thing, was burdenſom, injurious, unprofitable, and chargeable to the Commonwealth: Or *Laſtly,* (which muſt not be admitted) God and the Prophet

deceiv'd the People. God frequently proteſts that he was extreamly unpleas'd with them for aſking a King. V. 7th. *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them.* As if it were a kind of Idolatry to aſk a King, that would even ſuffer himſelf to be ador'd, and aſſume almoſt Divine Honour to himſelf. And certainly, they that ſubject themſelves to a worldly Maſter, and ſet him above all Laws, come but a little ſhort of chuſing a ſtrange God: And a ſtrange one it commonly is: brutiſh, and void of all ſenſe and reaſon. So 1*ſt* of *Sam.* Chap. 10*th.* *v.* 19*th.* *And ye have this day rejected your God, who himſelf ſaved you out of all your adverſities and your tribulation, and ye have ſaid unto him, Nay, but ſet a King over us,* &c. and Chap. 12*th* v. 12*th.* *Ye ſaid unto me, Nay, but a King ſhall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your King:* and v. the 17*th.* *See that your wickedneſs is great, that ye have done in the ſight of the Lord, in aſking you a King.* And *Hoſea* ſpeaks contemptibly of the King, Chap. 13. v. 10, 11. *I will be thy King; where is any other that may ſave in all thy Cities, and thy Judges of whom thou ſaideſt, Give me a King and Princes? I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.* And *Gideon* that warlike Judg, that was greater than a King; *I will not rule over you,* ſays he, *neither ſhall my Son rule over you; the Lord ſhall rule over you,* Judges, Chap. the 8. Intimating thereby, that it is not fit for a Man, but for God only to exerciſe Dominion over Men. And hence *Joſephus* in his Book againſt *Appion,* an *Egyptian Grammarian,* and a foul-mouth'd fellow, like you, calls the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews* a Theocracy, becauſe the principality was in God only. In *Iſaiah,* Chap. 26. v. 13. the People in their Repentance, complain that it had been miſchievous to them, *that other Lords beſides God himſelf, had had Dominion over them.* All

which places prove clearly, that God gave the *Israelites* a King in his anger; but now who can forbear laughing at the use you make of *Abimelech's* Story? Of whom it is said, when he was kill'd, partly by a Woman that hurl'd a piece of Mill-stone upon him, and partly by his own Armour-Bearer, that *God rendred the wickedness of Abimelech. This History*, say you, *proves strongly that God only is the Judg and Avenger of Kings.* Yea, if this Argument holds, he is the only Judg and Punisher of Tyrants, Villanous Rascals and Bastards. Whoever can get into the Saddle, whether by right or by wrong, has thereby obtain'd a Soveraign Kingly Right over the People, is out of all danger of punishment, all inferior Magistrates must lay down their Arms at his feet, the People must not dare to mutter. But what if some great notorious Robber had perished in War, as *Abimelech* did, would any Man infer from thence, That God only is the Judg and Punisher of High-waymen? Or what if *Abimelech* had been condemn'd by the Law, and died by an Executioner's hand, would not God then have rendred his wickedness? You never read that the Judges of the Children of *Israel* were ever proceeded against according to Law: And yet you confess, That *where the Government is an Aristocracy, the Prince, if there be any, may and ought to be call'd in question, if he break the Laws.* This in your 47*th Page*. And why may not a Tyrant as well be proceeded against in a Kingly Government? Why, because God rendred the wickedness of *Abimelech*. So did the Women, and so did his own Armour-Bearer; over both which he pretended to a right of Soveraignty. And what if the Magistrates had rendred his wickedness? Do not they bear the Sword for that very purpose, for the punishment of Malefactors? Having done with his powerful argument from the History of *Abimelech's* death, he betakes himself, as his custom is, to Slanders and

Calumnies; nothing but Dirt and Filth comes from him: but for thoſe things that he promis'd to make appear, he hath not prov'd any one of them, either from the Scriptures, or from the Writings of the *Rabbins*. He alledges no reaſon why Kings ſhould be above all Laws, and they only of all mortal Men exempt from puniſhment, if they deſerve it. He falls foul upon thoſe very Authors and Authorities that he makes uſe of, and by his own Diſcourſe demonſtrates the truth of the opinion that he argues againſt. And perceiving that he is like to do but little good with his arguments, he endeavours to bring an *odium* upon us, by loading us with ſlanderous Accuſations, as having put to death the moſt Vertuous innocent Prince that ever reign'd. *Was King Solomon*, ſays he, *better than King Charles the Firſt?* I confeſs ſome have ventur'd to compare his Father King *James* with *Solomon;* nay to make King *James* the better Gentleman of the two. *Solomon* was *David's* Son, *David* had been *Saul's* Muſitian; but King *James* was the Son of the Earl of *Darly*, who as *Buchanan* tells us, becauſe *David* the Muſitian got into the Queen's Bed-Chamber at an unſeaſonable time, kill'd him a little after; for he could not get to him then, becauſe he had bolted the Door on the inſide. So that King *James* being the Son of an Earl, was the better Gentleman; and was frequently called a ſecond *Solomon*, though it is not very certain that himſelf was not the Son of *David* the Muſitian too. But how could it ever come into your head to make a compariſon betwixt King *Charles* and *Solomon?* For that very King *Charles* whom you praiſe thus to the Sky, that very Man's Obſtinacy, and Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty, his hard uſage of all good and honeſt Men, the Wars that he rais'd, the Spoilings and Plunderings and Conflagrations that he occaſioned, and the death of innumerable of his Subjects that he was the cauſe of, does his Son *Charles*, at this

very time whilſt I'm a writing, confeſs and bewail in the Stool of Repentance in *Scotland*, and renounces there that Kingly Right that you aſſert. But ſince you delight in Parallels, let's compare King *Charles* and King *Solomon* together a little: *Solomon began his reign with the death of his Brother*, who had juſtly deſerved it; King *Charles* began his with his Father's Funeral, I do not ſay with his Murder: and yet all the marks and tokens of Poyſon that may be, appeared in his dead body; but that ſuſpition lighted upon the Duke of *Buckingham* only, whom the King notwithſtanding cleared to the Parliament, though he had killed the King, and his Father; and not only ſo, but he diſſolved the Parliament, leſt the matter ſhould be enquired into. *Solomon oppreſſed the people with heavy Taxes;* but he ſpent that Money upon the Temple of God, and in raiſing other public Buildings: King *Charles* ſpent his in Extravagances. *Solomon* was enticed to Idolatry by many Wives: This Man by one. *Solomon* though he were ſeduced himſelf, we read not that he ſeduced others; but King *Charles* ſeduced and enticed others not only by large and ample rewards to corrupt the Church, but by his Edicts and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions he compell'd them to ſet up Altars, which all Proteſtants abhor, and to bow down to Crucifixes painted over them on the Wall. *But yet for all this, Solomon was not condemned to die.* Nor does it follow, becauſe he was not, that therefore he ought not to have been. Perhaps there were many Circumſtances that made it then not expedient. But not long after the People both by words and actions made appear what they took to be their right, when Ten Tribes of Twelve revolted from his Son; and if he had not ſaved himſelf by flight, it is very likely they would have ſtoned him, notwithſtanding his Threats and big ſwelling words.

CHAP. III.

HAving proved ſufficiently that the Kings of the *Jews* were ſubject to the ſame Laws that the People were; That there are no exceptions made in their favour in Scripture; That 'tis a moſt falſe aſſertion grounded upon no Reaſon, nor warranted by any Authority, to ſay, That Kings may do what they liſt with Impunity; That God has exempted them from all humane Juriſdiction, and reſerved them to his own Tribunal only: Let us now conſider, whether the Goſpel preach up any ſuch Doctrine, and enjoyn that blind Obedience which the Law was ſo far from doing, that it commanded the contrary; let us conſider, whether or no the Goſpel, that Heavenly Promulgation, as it were, of Chriſtian Liberty, reduce us to a condition of Slavery to Kings and Tyrants, from whoſe imperious rule even the old Law, that Miſtreſs of Slavery, diſcharged the People of God, when it obtained. Your firſt argument you take from the Perſon of Chriſt himſelf. But, alas! who does not know that he put himſelf into the condition, not of a private perſon only, but even of a Servant, that we might be made free? Nor is this to be underſtood of ſome internal ſpiritual Liberty only; how inconſiſtent elſe would that Song of his Mothers be with the deſign of his coming into the World, *He hath ſcattered the proud in the imagination of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their ſeat, and hath exalted the humble and meek?* How ill ſuted to their occaſion would theſe expreſſions be, if the coming of Chriſt rather eſtabliſhed and ſtrengthened a Tyrannical Government, and made a blind ſubjection the duty of all Chriſtians? He himſelf having been born,

and lived and died under a Tyrannical Government, has thereby purchaſed Liberty for us. As he gives us his Grace to ſubmit patiently to a condition of Slavery, if there be a neceſſity of it; ſo if by any honeſt ways and means we can rid our ſelves and obtain our Liberty, he is ſo far from reſtraining us, that he encourages us ſo to do. Hence it is that St. *Paul* not only of an Evangelical, but alſo of a Civil Liberty, ſays thus, 1 *Cor.* 7. 21. *Art thou called being a Servant? care not for it; but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather; you are bought with a price, be not ye Servants of Men.* So that you are very impertinent in endeavouring to argue us into Slavery by the example of our Saviour; who by ſubmitting to ſuch a condition himſelf, has confirmed even our Civil Liberties. He took upon him indeed in our ſtead the form of a Servant, but he always retained his purpoſe of being a Deliverer; and thence it was that he taught us a quite other notion of the Right of Kings, than this that you endeavour to make good. You, I ſay, that preach up not Kingſhip, but Tyranny, and that in a Commonwealth; by enjoyning not only a neceſſary, but a Religious Subjection to whatever Tyrant gets into the Chair, whether he come to it by Succeſſion, or by Conqueſt, or Chance, or any how. And now I'll turn your own Weapons againſt you; and oppoſe you, as I uſe to do, with your own Authorities. When the Collectors of the Tribute-Money came to Chriſt for Tribute in *Galilee*, he aſked *Peter*, Mat. 17. *Of whom the Kings of the Earth took cuſtom or tribute, of their own Children, or of Strangers? Peter ſaith unto him, Of Strangers; Jeſus ſaith unto him, then are the Children free; notwithſtanding leſt we ſhould offend them*, &c. *give unto them for thee and for me.* Expoſitors differ upon this place, whom this Tribute was paid to; ſome ſay it was paid to the Prieſts, for the uſe of the Sanctuary; others that it

was paid to the Emperour. I am of opinion that it was the Revenue of the Sanctuary, but paid to *Herod*, who perverted the Inſtitution of it, and took it to himſelf. *Joſephus* mentions divers ſorts of Tribute which he and his Sons exacted, all which *Agrippa* afterwards remitted. And this very Tribute, though ſmall in it ſelf, yet being accompanied with many more, was a heavy burden. The *Jews*, even the pooreſt of them in the time of their Commonwealth, paid a Poll, ſo that it was ſome conſiderable oppreſſion that our Saviour ſpoke of; and from hence he took occaſion to tax *Herod's* Injuſtice (under whoſe Government, and within whoſe Juriſdiction he then was) in that, whereas the Kings of the Earth, who affect uſually the Title of Fathers of their Country, do not uſe to oppreſs their own Children, that is, their own natural born Subjects with heavy and unreaſonable Exactions, but lay ſuch burdens upon ſtrangers, and conquer'd enemies; he, quite contrary, oppreſſed not ſtrangers, but his own people. But let what will be here meant by Children, either natural born Subjects, or the Children of God, and thoſe the Elect only, or Chriſtians in general, as St. *Auguſtine* underſtands the place; this is certain, that if *Peter* was a Child, and therefore free, then by conſequence we are ſo too, by our Saviour's own Teſtimony, either as *Engliſhmen*, or as Chriſtians, and that it therefore is not the Right of Kings to exact heavy Tributes from their own Countrymen, and thoſe freeborn Subjects. Chriſt himſelf profeſſes, that he paid not this Tribute as a thing that was due, but that he might not bring trouble upon himſelf by offending thoſe that demanded it. The work that he came into this World to do, was quite of another nature. But if our Saviour deny, that it is the Right of Kings to burden their Free-born Subjects with grievous Exactions; he would certainly much leſs allow it to be their Right to Spoil, Maſ-

ſacre, and Torture their own Countrymen, and thoſe Chriſtians too. He diſcourſed after ſuch a manner of the Right of Kings, that thoſe to whom he ſpoke, ſuſpected his Principles, as laying too great a reſtraint upon Soveraignty, and not allowing the Licenſe that Tyrants aſſume to themſelves to be the Rights of Kings. It was not for nothing that the *Phariſees* put ſuch Queſtions to him, tempting him; and that at the ſame time they told him, that he regarded not the Perſon of any Man: nor was it for nothing that he was angry when ſuch Queſtions were propoſed to him, *Matth.* 22. If one ſhould endeavour to enſnare you with little Queſtions, and catch at your Anſwers, to ground an Accuſation againſt you upon your own Principles concerning the Right of Kings, and all this under a Monarchy, would you be angry with him? You'd have but very little reaſon. 'Tis evident, That our Saviour's Principles concerning Government, were not agreeable to the Humour of Princes. His Anſwer too implies as much; by which he rather turn'd them away, than inſtructed them. He aſked for the Tribute-Money. *Whoſe Image and Superſcription is it*, ſays he? They tell him it was *Cæſar's*. *Give then to Cæſar*, ſays he, *the things that are Cæſar's; and to God, the things that are God's*. And how comes it to paſs, that the People ſhould not have given to them the things that are theirs? *Render to all Men their dues*, ſays St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. So that *Cæſar* muſt not ingroſs all to himſelf. Our Liberty is not *Cæſar's*; 'tis a Bleſſing we have received from God himſelf; 'tis what we are born to; to lay this down at *Cæſar's* feet, which we derive not from him, which we are not beholden to him for, were an unworthy Action, and a degrading of our very Nature. If one ſhould conſider attentively the Countenance of a Man, and enquire after whoſe Image ſo noble a Creature were framed; would not any one that heard him, preſently

make anſwer, That he was made after the Image of God himſelf? Being therefore peculiarly God's own, and conſequently things that are to be given to him; we are intirely free by Nature, and cannot without the greateſt Sacrilege imaginable be reduced into a Condition of Slavery to any Man, eſpecially to a wicked, unjuſt, cruel Tyrant. Our Saviour does not take upon him to determine what things are God's, and what *Cæſar's;* he leaves that as he found it. If the piece of Money which they ſhewed him, was the ſame that was paid to God, as in *Veſpaſian's* time it was; then our Saviour is ſo far from having put an end to the Controverſy, that he has but entangl'd it, and made it more perplext than it was before: for 'tis impoſſible the ſame thing ſhould be given both to God, and to *Cæſar*. But, you ſay, he intimates to them what things were *Cæſar's;* to wit, that piece of Money becauſe it bore the Emperor's Stamp; and what of all that? How does this advantage your Cauſe? You get not the Emperor, or your ſelf a Penny by this Concluſion. Either Chriſt allowed nothing at all to be *Cæſar's*, but that piece of Money that he then had in his hand, and thereby aſſerted the Peoples Intereſt in every thing elſe; or elſe, if (as you would have us underſtand him) he affirms all Money that has the Emperor's ſtamp upon it, to be the Emperor's own, he contradicts himſelf, and indeed gives the Magiſtrate a property in every Man's Eſtate, when as he himſelf paid his Tribute-Money with a Proteſtation, that it was more than what either *Peter*, or he were bound to do. The ground you rely on, is very weak; for Money bears the Prince's Image, not as a token of its being his, but of its being good Metal, and that none may preſume to counterfeit it. If the writing Princes Names, or ſetting their Stamps upon a thing, veſt the property of it in them, 'twere a good ready way for them to invade all Property. Or

rather, if whatever Subjects have, be absolutely at their Princes disposal, which is your Assertion, that piece of Money was not *Cæsar's*, because his Image was stampt on it, but because of Right it belonged to him before 'twas coyn'd. So that nothing can be more manifest, than that our Saviour in this place never intended to teach us our Duty to Magistrates (he would have spoke more plainly if he had) but to reprehend the Malice and Wickedness of the hypocritical *Pharisees*. When they told him that *Herod* laid wait to kill him; did he return an humble, submissive Answer? *Go, tell that Fox*, says he, *&c.* intimating, that Kings have no other Right to destroy their Subjects, than Foxes have to devour the things they prey upon. Say you, "He suffered Death under "a Tyrant." How could he possibly under any other? But from hence you conclude, that he asserted it to be the Right of Kings to commit Murder, and act Injustice. You'd make an excellent Moralist. But our Saviour, tho he became a Servant, not to make us so, but that we might be free; yet carried he himself so with relation to the Magistracy, as not to ascribe any more to them than their due. Now, let us come at last to enquire what his Doctrine was upon this Subject. The Sons of *Zebedee* were ambitious of Honour and Power in the Kingdom of *Christ*, which they perswaded themselves he would shortly set up in the World; he reproves them so, as withal to let all Christians know what Form of Civil Government he desires they should settle amongst themselves. *Ye know*, says he, *that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant*. Unless you'd been distracted, you could never have imagined that this place makes

for you: and yet you urge it, and think it furniſhes you with an Argument to prove that our Kings are abſolute Lords and Maſters over us and ours. May it be our fortune to have to do with ſuch Enemies in War, as will fall blindfold and naked into our Camp inſtead of their own: as you conſtantly do, who alledg that for your ſelf, that of all things in the World makes moſt againſt you. The *Iſraelites* aſked God for a King, ſuch a King as other Nations round about them had. God diſſwaded them by many Arguments, whereof our Saviour here gives us an Epitome; *You know that the Princes of the* Gentiles *exerciſe Dominion over them.* But yet, becauſe the *Iſraelites* perſiſted in their deſire of a King, God gave them one, tho in his Wrath. Our Saviour, leſt Chriſtians ſhould deſire a King, ſuch a one at leaſt as might rule, as he ſays the Princes of the *Gentiles* did, prevents them with an Injunction to the contrary; *but it ſhall not be ſo among you.* What can be ſaid plainer than this? That ſtately, imperious Sway and Dominion that Kings uſe to exerciſe, ſhall not be amongſt you; what ſpecious Titles ſoever they may aſſume to themſelves, as that of Benefactors, or the like. *But he that will be great amongſt you* (and who is greater than the Prince?) *let him be your Servant.* So that the Lawyer, whoever he be, that you are ſo ſmart upon, was not ſo much out of the way, but had our Saviour's own Authority to back him, when he ſaid that Chriſtian Princes were indeed no other than the People's Servants; 'tis very certain that all good Magiſtrates are ſo. Inſomuch that Chriſtians either muſt have no King at all, or if they have, that King muſt be the People's Servant. Abſolute Lordſhip and Chriſtianity are inconſiſtent. *Moſes* himſelf, by whoſe Miniſtry that ſervile Oeconomy of the old Law was inſtituted, did not exerciſe an arbitrary, haughty Power and Authority, but bore the burden of the

People, and carried them in his Bosom, as a Nursing Father does a sucking Child, *Numb.* 11. and what is that of a Nursing Father, but a Ministerial Imployment? *Plato* would not have the Magistrates called Lords, but Servants and Helpers of the People; nor the People Servants, but Maintainers of their Magistrates, because they give Meat, Drink, and Wages to their Kings themselves. *Aristotle* calls the Magistrates, Keepers and Ministers of the Laws. *Plato*, Ministers and Servants. The Apostle calls them Ministers of God; but they are Ministers and Servants of the People, and of the Laws, nevertheless for all that; the Laws and the Magistrates were both created for the good of the People: And yet this is it, that you call *the Opinion of the Fanatick Mastiffs in* England. I should not have thought the People of *England* were Mastiff-dogs, if such a Mungril-Cur as thou art, did not bark at them so currishly. The Master, if it shall please ye, of St. *Lupus*,* complains it seems that the Mastiffs are mad (*Fanaticks*). *Germanus* heretofore, whose Colleague that *Lupus* of *Triers* was, deposed our Incestuous King *Vortigerne* by his own Authority. And therefore St. *Lupus* despises thee, the Master not of *a Holy Wolf* but of some hunger-starv'd thieving little Wolf or other, as being more contemptible than that Master of Vipers, of whom *Martial* makes mention, who hast by relation a barking She-Wolf at home too, that domineers over thee most wretchedly; at whose Instigations, as I am informed, thou hast wrote this stuff. And therefore it is the less wonder that thou shouldst endeavour to obtrude an absolute Regal Government upon others, who hast been accustomed to bear a Female Rule so servilely at home thy self. Be therefore, in the Name of God, the Master of a Wolf, lest a She-Wolf be

* Lupus in *Latin, signifies a wolf.*

thy Miſtreſs; be a Wolf thy ſelf, be a Monſter made up of a Man, and a Wolf; whatever thou art, the *Engliſh* Maſtiffs will but make a laughing-ſtock of thee. But I am not now at leiſure to hunt for Wolves, and will put an end therefore to this Digreſſion. You that but a while ago wrote a Book againſt all manner of ſuperiority in the Church, now call St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles. How inconſtant you are in your Principles! But what ſays *Peter? Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or to Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well: for ſo is the will of God*, &c. This Epiſtle *Peter* wrote, not only to private Perſons, but thoſe Strangers ſcatter'd and diſpers'd through *Aſia;* who in thoſe places where they ſojourned, had no other Right, than what the Laws of Hoſpitality intituled them to. Do you think ſuch Mens caſe to be the ſame with that of Natives, Free-born Subjects, Nobility, Senates, Aſſemblies of Eſtates, Parliaments? Nay, is not the caſe far different of private Perſons, tho' in their own Countrey; and Senators, or Magiſtrates, without whom, Kings themſelves cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt? But let us ſuppoſe that St. *Peter* had directed his Epiſtle to the Natural-born Subjects, and thoſe not private perſons neither; ſuppoſe he had writ to the Senate of *Rome*, What then? No Law that is grounded upon a reaſon, expreſly ſet down in the Law it ſelf, obligeth further than the reaſon of it extends. *Be ſubject*, ſays he, ὑποτάγητε: That is, according to the genuine ſenſe and import of the word, *be ſubordinate, or legally ſubject*. For the Law, *Ariſtotle* ſays, is Order. *Submit for the Lord's ſake*. Why ſo? Becauſe a King is an Officer *appointed by God for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well; For ſo is the will of God:* To wit, that we ſhould ſubmit and

acknowledged that the Laws of the Empire, and the Authority of the Senate was above himſelf: and the ſame principle and notion of Government has obtained all along in civiliz'd Nations. *Pindar*, as he is cited by *Herodotus*, calls the Law πάντων βασιλέα, *King over all.* *Orpheus* in his Hymns calls it the King both of Gods and Men: And he gives the reaſon why it is ſo; *Becauſe*, ſays he, *'tis that that ſits at the helm of all humane affairs.* *Plato* in his Book *De Legibus*, calls it τὸ χρατοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει: *that that ought to have the greateſt ſway in the Commonwealth.* In his Epiſtles he commends that Form of Government, in which the Law is made Lord and Maſter, and no ſcope given to any Man to tyrannize over the Laws. *Ariſtotle* is of the ſame opinion in his *Politicks;* and ſo is *Cicero* in his Book *de Legibus*, That the Laws ought to govern the Magiſtrates as they do the People. The Law therefore having always been accounted the higheſt Power on Earth, by the judgment of the moſt learned and wiſe men that ever were, and by the Conſtitutions of the beſt ordered States; and it being very certain that the Doctrine of the Goſpel is neither contrary to Reaſon nor the Law of Nations, that Man is truly and properly ſubject to the higher Powers who obeys the Law and the Magiſtrates, ſo far as they govern according to Law. So that St. *Paul* does not only command the People, but Princes themſelves to be in ſubjection; who are not above the Laws, but bound by them, *For there is no Power but of God:* that is no Form, no lawful Conſtitution of any Government. The moſt ancient Laws that are known to us, were formerly aſcribed to God as their Author. For the Law, ſays *Cicero* in his *Philippicks*, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reaſon, derived from God himſelf, enjoyning whatever is juſt and right, and forbidding the contrary. So that the inſtitution of

Magiſtracy is *Jure Divino*, and the end of it is, that Mankind might live under certain Laws, and be govern'd by them. But what particular Form of Government each Nation would live under, and what Perſons ſhould be entruſted with the Magiſtracy, without doubt, was left to the choice of each Nation. Hence St. *Peter* calls Kings and Deputies, *Humane Ordinances*. And *Hoſea* in the 8th Chapter of his Prophesy, *They have ſet up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not*. For in the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews*, where upon matters of great and weighty importance they could have acceſs to God himſelf, and conſult with him, they could not chuſe a King themſelves by Law, but were to refer the matter to him. Other Nations have received no ſuch Command. Sometimes the very Form of Government, if it be amiſs, or at leaſt thoſe Perſons that have the Power in their hands, are not of God, but of Men, or of the Devil, Luke 4. *All this Power will I give unto thee, for it is delivered unto me, and I give it to whom I will*. Hence the Devil is called the Prince of this World; and in the 12th of the *Revelations*, the Dragon gave to the Beaſt his Power, and his Throne, and great Authority. So that we muſt not underſtand St. *Paul*, as if he ſpoke of all ſorts of Magiſtrates in general, but of lawful Magiſtrates; and ſo they are deſcribed in what follows. We muſt alſo underſtand him of the Powers themſelves; not of thoſe Men always, in whoſe hands they are lodged. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks very well, and clearly upon this occaſion. *What?* ſays he, *is every Prince then appointed by God to be ſo? I ſay no ſuch thing*, ſays he. *St.* Paul *ſpeaks not of the Perſon of the Magiſtrate, but of the Magiſtracy it ſelf. He does not ſay, there is no Prince but who is of God. He ſays there is no Power but of God*. Thus far St. *Chryſoſtom*; for what Powers are, are ordained of God:

So that *Paul* ſpeaks only of a lawful Magiſtracy. For what is evil and amiſs, cannot be ſaid to be ordain'd, becauſe 'tis diſorderly; Order and Diſorder cannot conſiſt together in the ſame ſubject. The Apoſtle ſays, *The Powers that be;* and you interpret his words as if he had ſaid, *The Powers that now be;* that you may prove that the *Romans* ought in Conſcience to obey *Nero*, who you take for granted was then Emperor. I'm very well content you ſhould read the words ſo, and draw that Concluſion from them. The Conſequence will be, that *Engliſh* Men ought to yield Obedience to the preſent Government, as 'tis now eſtabliſht according to a new Model; becauſe you muſt needs acknowledg that it is the *preſent* Government, and ordain'd of God, as much at leaſt as *Nero's* was. And leſt you ſhould object that *Nero* came to the Empire by a Lawful Succeſſion, it's apparent from the *Roman* Hiſtory that both he and *Tiberius* got into the Chair by the Tricks and Artifices of their Mothers, and had no right at all to the Succeſſion. So that you are inconſiſtent with your ſelf, and retract from your own Principles, in affirming that the *Romans* owed Subjection to the Government that then was; and yet denying that *Engliſhmen* owe Subjection to the Government that now is. But 'tis no wonder to hear you contradict your ſelf. There are no two things in the World more directly oppoſite and contrary to one another, than you are to your ſelf. But what will become of you, poor Wretch? You have quite undone the young King with your Witticiſms, and ruin'd his Fortunes utterly; for according to your own Doctrine you muſt needs confeſs, that this *preſent* Government in *England*, is *ordain'd of God*, and that all *Engliſhmen* are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit to it. Take notice all ye Criticks and Textuaries; Do not you preſume to meddle with this Text. Thus *Salmaſius*

corrects that Paſſage in the Epiſtle to the *Romans:* He has made a diſcovery, that the Words ought not to be read, *The Powers that are;* but, *The Powers that now are:* And all this to prove that all Men owed Subjection and Obedience to *Nero* the Tyrant, whom he ſuppoſed to have been then Emperor. This *Epiſtle*, which you ſay was writ in *Nero's* time, was writ in his Predeceſſor's time, who was an honeſt well-meaning Man: And this learned Men evince by undeniable Arguments. But beſides, the five firſt years of *Nero's* reign were without exception. So that this thredbare Argument, which ſo many Men have at their Tongues end, and have been deceived by, to wit, that Tyrants are to be obeyed, becauſe St. *Paul* injoyns a Subjection to *Nero*, is evident to have been but a cunning Invention of ſome ignorant Parſon. *He that reſiſts the Powers*, to wit, a lawful Power, *reſiſts the Ordinance of God.* Kings themſelves come under the Penalty of this Law, when they reſiſt the Senate, and act contrary to the Laws. But do they reſiſt the Ordinance of God, that reſiſt an unlawful Power, or a Perſon that goes about to overthrow and deſtroy a lawful one? No Man living in his right Wits can maintain ſuch an Aſſertion. The words immediately after make it as clear as the Sun, that the Apoſtle ſpeaks only of a lawful power; for he gives us in them a Definition of Magiſtrates, and thereby explains to us who are the Perſons thus authoriz'd, and upon what account we are to yield Obedience, leſt we ſhould be apt to miſtake and ground extravagant Notions upon his Diſcourſe. *The Magiſtrates*, ſays he, *are not a Terror to good works, but to evil; Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame: For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good. He beareth not the Sword in vain: for he is the Miniſter of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath*

upon him that doth Evil. What honeſt Man would not willingly ſubmit to ſuch a Magiſtracy as is here deſcribed? And that not only to avoid Wrath, and for fear of Puniſhment, but *for Conſcience ſake.* Without Magiſtrates, and ſome Form or other of Civil Government, no Commonwealth, no Humane Society can ſubſiſt, there were no living in the World. But whatever Power enables a Man, or whatſoever Magiſtrate takes upon him to act contrary to what St. *Paul* makes the Duty of thoſe that are in Authority; neither is that Power, nor that Magiſtrate ordain'd of God. And conſequently to ſuch a Magiſtracy no Subjection is commanded, nor is any due, nor are the People forbidden to reſiſt ſuch Authority; for in ſo doing they do not reſiſt the Power, nor the Magiſtracy, as they are here excellently well deſcribed; but they reſiſt a Robber, a Tyrant, an Enemy; who if he may notwithſtanding in ſome ſenſe be called a Magiſtrate, upon this account only, becauſe he has Power in his hands, which perhaps God may have inveſted him with for our puniſhment; by the ſame reaſon the Devil may be called a Magiſtrate. This is moſt certain, that there can be but one true Definition of one and the ſame thing. So that if St. *Paul* in this place define what a Magiſtrate is, which he certainly does, and that accurately well; He cannot poſſibly define a *Tyrant*, the moſt contrary thing imaginable, in the ſame words. Hence I infer, that he commands us to ſubmit to ſuch Magiſtrates only as he himſelf defines and deſcribes, and not to *Tyrants*, which are quite other things. *For this Cauſe you pay Tribute alſo:* He gives a Reaſon, together with a Command. Hence St. *Chryſoſtom; Why do we pay Tribute to Princes? Do we not*, adds he, *thereby reward them for the care they take of our Safety? We ſhould not have paid them any Tribute if we had not been convinc'd that it was*

good for us to live under a Government. So that I muſt here repeat what I have ſaid already, That ſince Subjection is not abſolutely enjoined, but on a particular Reaſon, that Reaſon muſt be the rule of our Subjection: where that Reaſon holds, we are Rebels if we ſubmit not; where it holds not, we are Cowards and Slaves if we do. *But*, ſay you, *the* Engliſh *are far from being Freemen; for they are wicked and flagitious.* I will not reckon up here the Vices of the *French*, tho they live under a Kingly Government; neither will I excuſe my own Countrey-men too far: but this I may ſafely ſay, whatever Vices they have, they have learnt them under a Kingly Government; as the *Iſraelites* learnt a great deal of Wickedneſs in *Egypt*. And as they, when they were brought into the Wilderneſs, and lived under the immediate Government of God himſelf, could hardly reform, juſt ſo 'tis with us. But there are good hopes of many amongſt us; that I may not here celebrate thoſe Men who are eminent for their Piety and Virtue, and Love of the Truth; of which ſort I perſwade my ſelf we have as great a number, as where you think there are moſt ſuch. But *they have laid a heavy yoke upon the* Engliſh *Nation:* What if they have, upon thoſe of them that endeavoured to lay a heavy Yoke upon all the reſt? Upon thoſe that have deſerved to be put under the hatches? As for the reſt, I queſtion not but they are very well content to be at the expence of maintaining their own Liberty, the Publick Treaſury being exhauſted by the Civil Wars. Now he betakes himſelf to the Fabulous *Rabbins* again: He aſſerts frequently, that Kings are bound by no Laws; and yet he proves, That according to the ſenſe of the *Rabbins, a King may be guilty of Treaſon, by ſuffering an Invaſion upon the Rights of his Crown.* So Kings are bound by Laws, and they are not bound by them; they may

be Criminals, and yet they may not be ſo. This Man contradicts himſelf ſo perpetually, that Contradiction and he ſeem to be of kin to one another. You ſay that God himſelf put many Kingdoms under the yoke of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*. I confeſs he did ſo for a time, *Jer*. 27. 7. but do you make appear if you can, that he put the *Engliſh* Nation into a condition of Slavery to *Charles Stuart* for a minute. I confeſs he ſuffered them to be enſlaved by him for ſome time; but I never yet heard that himſelf appointed it ſo to be. Or if you will have it ſo, that God ſhall be ſaid to put a Nation under Slavery, when a Tyrant prevails; why may he not as well be ſaid to deliver them from his Tyranny, when the People prevail and get the upper hand? Shall his Tyranny be ſaid to be of God, and not our Liberty? There is no evil in the City, that the Lord hath not done, *Amos* 3. So that Famine, Peſtilence, Sedition, War, all of them are of God; and is it therefore unlawful for a People afflicted with any of theſe Plagues, to endeavour to get rid of them? Certainly they would do their utmoſt, tho they know them to be ſent by God, unleſs himſelf miraculouſly from Heaven ſhould command the contrary: And why may they not by the ſame reaſon rid themſelves of a Tyrant, if they are ſtronger than he? Why ſhould we ſuppoſe his weakneſs to be appointed by God for the ruin and deſtruction of the Commonwealth, rather than the Power and Strength of all the People for the good of the State? Far be it from all Commonwealths, from all Societies of free-born men to maintain not only ſuch pernicious, but ſuch ſtupid and ſenſeleſs Principles; Principles that ſubvert all Civil Society, that to gratifie a few Tyrants, level all Mankind with Brutes; and by ſetting Princes out of the reach of humane Laws, give them an equal power over both. I paſs by thoſe fooliſh *Dilemma's* that

you now make, which that you might take occaſion to propoſe, you feign ſome or other to aſſert that the *ſuperlative power of Princes is derived from the People;* though for my own part I do not at all doubt but that all the power that any Magiſtrates have, is ſo. Hence *Cicero* in his *Orat. pro Flacco*, " Our wiſe " and holy Anceſtors, *ſays he*, appointed thoſe things " to obtain for Laws, that the People enacted." And hence it is that *Lucius Craſſus*, an Excellent *Roman Orator*, and at that time Preſident of the Senate, when in a Controverſie betwixt them and the common People, he aſſerted their Rights, " I beſeech " you, *ſays he*, ſuffer not us to live in ſubjection to " any, but your ſelves, to the entire body of whom " we can and ought to ſubmit." For though the *Roman* Senate govern'd the People, the People themſelves had appointed them to be their Governours, and had put that power into their hands. We read the term of *Majeſty* more frequently applied to the People of *Rome*, than to their Kings. *Tully* in *Orat. pro Plancio*, " It is the condition of all free People, " (ſays he) and eſpecially of this People, the Lord " of all Nations, by their Votes to give or take away, " to or from any as themſelves ſee cauſe. 'Tis the " duty of the Magiſtrates patiently to ſubmit to what " the body of the People enact. Thoſe that are not " ambitious of Honour, have the leſs obligation upon " them to court the People; thoſe that affect Pre- " ferment, muſt not be weary of entreating them." Should I ſcruple to call a King the Servant of his People, when I hear the *Roman* Senate, that reign'd over ſo many Kings, profeſs themſelves to be but the Peoples Servants? You'll object perhaps, and ſay, that all this is very true in a popular State; but the caſe was altered afterwards, when the Regal Law transferr'd all the People's Right into *Auguſtus* and his Succeſſors. But what think you then of *Tiberius*,

whom your ſelf confeſs to have been a very great Tyrant, as he certainly was? *Suetonius* ſays of him, that when he was once called *Lord* or *Maſter*, though after the enacting of that *Lex Regia*, he deſired the Perſon that gave him that appellation, to forbear abuſing him. How does this ſound in your ears? a Tyrant thinks one of his Subjects abuſes him in calling him *Lord*. The ſame Emperor in one of his Speeches to the Senate, " I have ſaid, ſays he, frequently heretofore, and now I ſay it again, that a " good Prince, whom you have inveſted with ſo " great power as I am entruſted with, ought to ſerve " the Senate, and the body of the People, and ſometimes even particular Perſons; nor do I repent of " having ſaid ſo: I confeſs that you have been good, " and juſt, and indulgent Maſters to me, and that " you are yet ſo." You may ſay that he diſſembled in all this, as he was a great Proficient in the art of Hypocriſie; but that's all one. No man endeavours to appear otherwiſe than he ought to be. Hence *Tacitus* tells us, that it was the cuſtom in *Rome* for the Emperours in the *Circus*, to worſhip the People; and that both *Nero* and other Emperours practiſed it. *Claudian* in his Panegyrick upon *Honorius* mentions the ſame cuſtom. By which ſort of Adoration what could poſſibly be meant, but that the Emperours of *Rome*, even after the enacting of the *Lex Regia*, confeſſed the whole body of the People to be their Superiors? But I find, as I ſuſpected at firſt, and ſo I told ye, that you have ſpent more time and pains in turning over Gloſſaries, and criticiſing upon Texts, and propagating ſuch like laborious Trifles, than in reading ſound Authors ſo as to improve your knowledg by them. For had you been never ſo little verſed in the Writings of learned Men in former Ages, you would not have accounted an opinion new, and the product of ſome Enthuſiaſtick Heads, which

has been aſſerted and maintained by the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt famous Politicians in the World. You endeavour to expoſe one *Martin*, who you tell us was a *Taylor*, and one *William* a *Tanner*; but if they are ſuch as you deſcribe them, I think they and you may very well go together; though they themſelves would be able to inſtruct you, and unfold thoſe Miſterious Riddles that you propoſe: as, *whether or no they that in a Monarchy would have the King but a Servant to the Commonwealth, will ſay the ſame thing of the whole body of the People in a popular State? And whether all the People ſerve in a Democracy, or only ſome part or other ſerve the reſt?* And when they have been an *Oedipus* to you, by my conſent you ſhall be a *Sphinx* to them in good earneſt, and throw your ſelf headlong from ſome precipice or other, and break your neck; for elſe I'm afraid you'l never have done with your Riddles and Fooleries. You aſk, *Whether or no, when St.* Paul *names Kings, he meant the People?* I confeſs St. *Paul* commands us to pray for Kings, but he had commanded us to pray for the People before, *verſ.* 1. But there are ſome for all that, both among Kings and common People, that we are forbidden to pray for; and if a man muſt not ſo much as be prayed for, may he not be puniſhed? What ſhould hinder? But, *when* Paul *wrote this Epiſtle, he that reigned was the moſt profligate Perſon in the World.* That's falſe. For *Ludovicus Capellus* makes it evident, that this Epiſtle likewiſe was writ in *Claudius's* time. When St. *Paul* has occaſion to ſpeak of *Nero*, he calls him not a King, but a *Lion*; that is, a wild, ſavage Beaſt, from whoſe jaws he is glad he was delivered, 2 *Tim.* 4. So that it is for Kings, not for Beaſts that we are to pray, *that under them we may live a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.* Kings and their Intereſt are not the things here intended to be advanced and ſecured; 'tis the

publick Peace, Godlineſs and Honeſty, whoſe eſtabliſhment we are commanded to endeavour after, and to pray for. But is there any People in the World that would not chuſe rather to live an honeſt and careful Life, tho never free from War and Troubles, in the defence of themſelves and their Families, whether againſt Tyrants or Enemies (for I make no difference) than under the power of a Tyrant or an Enemy to ſpin out a Life equally troubleſome, accompanied with Slavery and Ignominy? That the latter is the more deſirable of the two, I'll prove by a Teſtimony of your own; not becauſe I think your Authority worth quoting, but that all Men may obſerve how double-tongu'd you are, and how mercenary your Pen is. "Who would not rather, *ſay* "*you*, bear with thoſe diſſenſions that through the "emulation of great Men often happen in an Ariſ-"tocratical Government, than live under the Tyran-"nical Government of one, where nothing but certain "miſery and ruin is to be look'd for? The People "of *Rome* preferr'd their Commonwealth, tho never "ſo much ſhatter'd with civil Broils, before the in-"tolerable Yoke of their Emperors. When a People "to avoid Sedition, ſubmits to a Monarchy, and finds "by experience, that this is the worſt evil of the two, "they often deſire to return to their former Govern-"ment again." Theſe are your own words, and more you have to this purpoſe in that Diſcourſe concerning Biſhops, which under a feigned name you wrote againſt *Petavius* the *Jeſuit;* though your ſelf are more a *Jeſuit* than he, nay worſe than any of that Crew. We have already heard the ſenſe of the Scripture upon this Subject; and it has been worth our while to take ſome pains to find it out. But perhaps it will not be ſo to enquire into the Judgment of the Fathers, and to ranſack their Volumes: for if they aſſert any thing which is not warranted by the

Word of God, we may ſafely reject their authority, be it never ſo great; and particularly that expreſſion that you alledg out of *Irenæus*, " That God in his " Providence orders it ſo, that ſuch Kings reign as " are ſuitable to, and proper for the People they are " to govern, all Circumſtances conſidered." That expreſſion, I ſay, is directly contrary to Scripture. For though God himſelf declared openly that it was better for his own people to be governed by Judges than by Kings, yet he left it to them to change that Form of Government for a worſe, if they would themſelves. And we read frequently, that when the body of the People has been good, they have had a wicked King, and contrariwiſe that a good King has ſometimes reign'd when the People have been wicked. So that wiſe and prudent Men are to conſider and ſee what is profitable and fit for the People in general; for it is very certain that the ſame Form of Government is not equally convenient for all Nations, nor for the ſame Nation at all times; but ſometimes one, ſometimes another may be more proper, according as the induſtry and valour of the People may increaſe or decay. But if you deprive the People of this liberty of ſetting up what Government they like beſt among themſelves, you take that from them, in which the life of all Civil Liberty conſiſts. Then you tell us of *Juſtin Martyr*, of his humble and ſubmiſſive behaviour to the *Antonines*, thoſe beſt of Emperours; as if any body would not do the like to Princes of ſuch moderation as they were. " *How much worſe* " *Chriſtians are we in theſe days, than thoſe were?* " *They were content to live under a Prince of another* " *Religion.*" Alas! They were private Perſons, and infinitely inferior to the contrary party in ſtrength and number. *But now Papiſts will not endure a Proteſtant Prince, nor Proteſtants one that is Popiſh.* You do well and diſcreetly, in ſhowing your ſelf to be

neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant. And you are very liberal in your conceſſions; for now you confeſs that all ſorts of Chriſtians agree in that very thing, that you alone take upon you with ſo much impudence and wickedneſs, to cry down and oppoſe. And how unlike thoſe Fathers that you commend, do you ſhow your ſelf? They wrote Apologies for the Chriſtians to Heathen Princes; you in defence of a wicked Popiſh King, againſt Chriſtians and Proteſtants. Then you entertain us with a number of impertinent quotations out of *Athenagoras* and *Tertullian:* Things that we have already heard out of the Writings of the Apoſtles, much more clearly and intelligibly expreſt. But *Tertullian* was quite of a different opinion from yours, of a King's being a Lord and Maſter over his Subjects: Which you either knew not, or wickedly diſſembled. For he, though he were a Chriſtian, and directed his diſcourſe to a Heathen Emperor, had the confidence to tell him, that an Emperor ought not to be called *Lord.* "*Auguſtus* himſelf, *ſays he*, that "formed this Empire, refus'd that appellation: 'Tis "a Title proper to God only. Not but that the Title "of Lord and Maſter may in ſome ſenſe be aſcribed to "the Emperor: But there is a peculiar ſenſe of that "word, which is proper to God only; and in that "ſenſe, I will not aſcribe it to the Emperor. I am "the Emperor's free-man. God alone is my *Lord* "and *Maſter*. And the ſame Author, in the ſame "Diſcourſe; how inconſiſtent, *ſays he*, are thoſe two "Appellations, *Father* of his Countrey, and *Lord* "and *Maſter?*" And now I wiſh you much joy of *Tertullian's* authority, whom it had been a great deal better you had let alone. *But* Tertullian *calls them Parricides that ſlew* Domitian. And he does well, for ſo they were, his Wife and Servants conſpir'd againſt him. And they ſet one *Parthenius* and *Stephanus*, who were accus'd for concealing part of the

publick Treaſure, to make him away. If the Senate and the People of *Rome* had proceeded againſt him according to the cuſtom of their Anceſtors; had given Judgment of Death againſt him, as they did once againſt *Nero;* and had made ſearch for him to put him to death; do ye think *Tertullian* would have called them *Parricides?* If he had, he would have deſerv'd to be hang'd, as you do. I give the ſame anſwer to your quotation out of *Origen*, that I have given already to what you have cited out of *Irenæus*. *Athanaſius* indeed ſays, that Kings are not accountable before humane Tribunals. But I wonder who told *Athanaſius* this? I do not hear that he produces any authority from *Scripture*, to confirm this aſſertion. And I'll rather believe Kings and Emperors themſelves, who deny that they themſelves have any ſuch Privilege, than I will *Athanaſius*. Then you quote *Ambroſius*, who after he had been a *Proconſul*, and after that became a *Catechumen*, at laſt got into a Biſhoprick: But for his authority, I ſay, that his Interpretation of thoſe words of *David*, *againſt thee only have I ſinned*, is both ignorant and adulatory. He was willing all others ſhould be enthrall'd to the Emperor, that he might enthral the Emperor to himſelf. We all know with what a Papal Pride and Arrogancy he treated *Theodoſius* the Emperor, how he took upon him to declare him guilty of that Maſſacre at *Theſſalonica*, and to forbid him coming into the Church; how miſerably raw in Divinity, and unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Goſpel, he ſhewed himſelf upon that occaſion; when the Emperor fell down at his feet, he commanded him to get him out of the Porch. At laſt, when he was received again into the Communion of the Church, and had offered, becauſe he continued ſtanding near to the Altar, the Magiſterial Prelate commanded him out of the Rails; *O Emperor*, ſays he, *theſe inner*

places are for the Priests only, 'tis not lawful for others to come within them! Does this sound like the behaviour of a Minister of the Gospel, or like that of a *Jewish* High-Priest? And yet this man, such as we hear he was, would have the Emperor ride other People, that himself might ride him, which is a common trick of almost all Ecclesiasticks. With words to this purpose, he put back the Emperor as inferior to himself: *You rule over men*, said he, *that are partakers of the same Nature, and Fellow-servants with your self: For there is one only Lord and King over all, to wit, the Creator of all.* This is very pretty! This piece of truth, which the craft and flattery of Clergymen has all along endeavoured to suppress and obscure, was then brought to light by the furious passion, or to speak more mildly, by the ignorant indiscreet zeal of one of them. After you have displai'd *Ambrose's* ignorance, you show your own, or rather, vent a Heresie in affirming point blank, That *under the Old Testament, there was no such thing as forgiveness of Sins upon the account of Christ's sufferings, since* David *confess'd his transgression, saying, Against thee only have I sinned*, P. 68. 'Tis the Orthodox Tenet, that there never was any remission of Sins, but by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the beginning of the World. I know not whose Disciple you are, that set up for a Broacher of new Heresies: but certain I am, that that great Divine's Disciple whom you are so angry with, did not mistake himself, when he said that any one of *David's* Subjects might have said, *against thee only have I sinned*, as properly, and with as much right, as *David* himself. Then you quote St. *Augustine*, and produce a company of *Hipponensian* Divines. What you alledg out of St. *Austin*, makes not at all against us. We confess that, as the Prophet *Daniel* has it, it's God that changeth times, sets up one

Kingdom, and pulls down another; we only deſire to have it allow'd us, that he makes uſe of Men as his Inſtruments. If God alone gave a Kingdom to King *Charles*, God alone has taken it from him again, and given it to the Parliament, and to the People. If therefore our Allegiance was due to King *Charles*, becauſe God had given him a Kingdom; for the ſame reaſon it is now due to the preſent Magiſtracy. For your ſelf confeſs, that God has given our Magiſtrates ſuch power as he uſes to give to wicked Princes, for the puniſhment of the Nation. And the conſequence of this will be, that according to your own opinion, our preſent Magiſtrates being rais'd and appointed by God, cannot lawfully be depoſed by any, but God himſelf. Thus you overthrow the opinion you pretend to maintain, which is a thing very frequent with you: Your Apology for the King, carries its deaths-wound in it. You have attained to ſuch a prodigious degree of Madneſs and Stupidity, as to prove it unlawful upon any account whatſoever, to lift up ones finger againſt Magiſtrates, and with the very next breath to affirm that it's the duty of their ſubjects to riſe up in Rebellion againſt them. You tell us that St. *Jerom* calls *Iſmael* that ſlew *Gedalia*, a Parricide or Traytor: And it is very true, that he was ſo: For *Gedalia* was Deputy Governour of *Judea*, a good man, and ſlain by *Iſmael* without any cauſe. The ſame Author in his Comment upon the Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, ſays, that *Solomon's* command to keep the King's Commandment, is the ſame with St. *Paul's* Doctrine, upon the ſame ſubject; and deſerves commendation for having made a more moderate Conſtruction of that Text, than moſt of his Contemporaries. You ſay you will forbear enquiring into the Sentiments of Learned Men that lived ſince St. *Auguſtine's* time: but to ſhew that you had rather diſpence with a Lie, than not quote any Author that

you think makes for you, in the very next period but one, you produce the Authorities of *Isidore*, *Gregory*, and *Otho*, *Spanish* and *Dutch* Authors, that liv'd in the most barbarous and ignorant ages of all; whose Authorities, if you knew how much we despise, you would not have told a Lie to have quoted them. But would you know the reason why he dares not come so low as to the present times? Why he does as it were hide himself, and disappear, when he comes towards our own times? The reason is, Because he knows full well, that as many Eminent Divines as there are of the Reformed Church, so many Adversaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the Cudgels, if he thinks fit; he will quickly find himself run down with innumerable Authorities out of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Paræus*, and the rest. I could oppose you with Testimonies out of Divines that have flourished even in *Leyden*. Though that famous University and renowned Commonwealth, which has been as it were a Sanctuary for Liberty, those Fountains and Streams of all Polite Learning, have not yet been able to wash away that slavish Rust that sticks to you, and infuse a little Humanity into you. Finding your self destitute of any assistance or help from Orthodox Protestant Divines, you have the impudence to betake your self to the *Sorbonists*, whose College you know is devoted to the Romish Religion, and consequently but of very weak authority amongst Protestants. We are willing to deliver so wicked an assertor of Tyranny as you, to be drown'd in the *Sorbon*, as being asham'd to own so despicable a Slave as you show your self to be, by maintaining that the whole body of a Nation is not equal in power to the most slothful degenerate Prince that may be. You labour in vain to lay that upon the Pope, which all free Nations, and all Orthodox Divines own and assert. But the Pope and

his Clergy, when they were in a low Condition, and but of ſmall account in the World, were the firſt Authors of this pernicious abſurd Doctrine of yours: and when by preaching ſuch Doctrine they had gotten power into their own hands, they became the worſt of Tyrants themſelves. Yet they engaged all Princes to them by the cloſeſt tye imaginable, perſwading the World that was now beſotted with their Superſtition, that it was unlawful to depoſe Princes tho never ſo bad, unleſs the Pope diſpenſed with their Allegiance to them, by abſolving them from their Oaths. But you avoid Orthodox Writers, and endeavour to burden the truth with prejudice and calumny, by making the Pope the firſt aſſertor of what is a known and common received Opinion amongſt them; which if you did not do it cunningly, you would make your ſelf appear to be neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant, but a kind of a Mongrel *Idumean Herodian.* For as they of old adored one moſt inhumane bloody Tyrant for the *Meſſias*, ſo you would have the World fall down and worſhip all. You boaſt that *you have confirm'd your Opinion by the Teſtimonies of the Fathers that flouriſhed in the four firſt Centuries; whoſe Writings only are Evangelical, and according to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion.* This man is paſt all ſhame! how many things did they preach, how many things have they publiſhed, which *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles never taught? How many things are there in their Writings, in which all Proteſtant Divines differ from them? But what is that Opinion that you have confirm'd by their Authorities? Why, *That evil Princes are appointed by God.* Allow that, as all other pernicious and deſtructive things are. What then? why, *that therefore they have no Judg but God alone, that they are above all humane Laws; that there is no Law, written or unwritten, no Law of Nature, nor of God, to call them to account before their own Subjects.* But

how comes that to paſs? Certain I am, that there is no Law againſt it: No Penal Law excepts Kings. And all reaſon and juſtice requires, that thoſe that offend, ſhould be puniſhed according to their deſerts, without reſpect of Perſons. Nor have you hitherto produced any one Law, either written or unwritten, of God or of Nature, by which this is forbidden. What ſtands in the way then? Why may not Kings be proceeded againſt? why, *becauſe they are appointed by God, be they never ſo bad.* I do not know whether I had beſt call you a Knave, or a Fool, or ignorant, unlearned Barbarian. You ſhow your ſelf a vile Wretch, by propagating a Doctrine ſo deſtructive and pernicious; and y'are a Fool for backing it with ſuch ſilly Arguments. God ſays in *Iſa.* 54. *I have created the ſlayer to deſtroy.* Then by your reaſon a Murderer is above the Laws. Turn this topſy turvy, and conſider it as long as you will, you'll find the Conſequence to be the ſame with your own. For the Pope is appointed by God, juſt as Tyrants are, and ſet up for the puniſhment of the Church, which I have already demonſtrated out of your own Writings; *And yet,* ſay you, *Wal. Meſ. pag.* 412. *becauſe he has raiſed his Primacy to an inſufferable height of power, ſo as that he has made it neither better nor worſe than plain downright Tyranny, both he and his Biſhops may be put down more lawfully than they were at firſt ſet up.* You tell us that the Pope and the Biſhops (tho God in his wrath appointed them) may yet lawfully be rooted out of the Church, becauſe they are Tyrants; and yet you deny that 'tis lawful to depoſe a Tyrant in the Commonwealth, and that for no other reaſon than becauſe God appointed him, tho he did it in his anger. What ridiculous ſtuff this is! for whereas the Pope cannot hurt a Man's Conſcience againſt his own will, for in the Conſciences of Men it is that his Kingdom conſiſts, yet you are for depoſing him

as a grievous Tyrant, in whoſe own power it is not to be a Tyrant; and yet you maintain that a Tyrant properly and truly ſo called, a Tyrant that has all our Lives and Eſtates within his reach, without whoſe aſſiſtance the Pope himſelf could not exerciſe his Tyranny in the Church, ought for Conſcience ſake to be born withal and ſubmitted to. Theſe aſſertions compar'd with one another betray your Childiſhneſs to that degree, that no Man can read your Books, but muſt of neceſſity take notice of your ignorance, raſhneſs, and incogitancy. But you allege another reaſon, *Humane Affairs would be turn'd upſide down.* They would ſo, and be chang'd for the better. Humane Affairs would certainly be in a deplorable condition, if being once troubled and diſorder'd, there were a neceſſity of their continuing always ſo. I ſay, they would be chang'd for the better, for the King's power would revert to the People, from whom it was firſt derived and conferred upon one of themſelves; and the power would be transferred from him that abuſed it, to them that were prejudiced and injured by the abuſe of it; than which nothing can be more juſt, for there could not well be an *Umpire* in ſuch a caſe; Who would ſtand to the judgment of a Foreigner? all Mankind would equally be ſubject to the Laws; there would be no Gods of fleſh and blood: Which kind of Deities whoever goes about to ſet up in the World, they are equally injurious to Church and Commonwealth. Now I muſt turn your own Weapons upon you again. You ſay, *There can be no greater Hereſy than this, to ſet up one Man in Chriſt's Seat. Theſe two are infallible marks of Antichriſt, Infallibility in Spirituals, and Omnipotence in Temporals. Apparat. ad Prim. pag.* 171. Do you pretend that Kings are infallible? If you do not, why do you make them Omnipotent? And how comes it to paſs that an unlimited power in one Man ſhould be accounted

leſs deſtructive to Temporal things, than it is to Eccleſiaſtical? Or do you think that God takes no care at all of Civil Affairs? If he takes none himſelf, I'm ſure he does not forbid us to take care which way they go. If he does take any care about them, certainly he would have the ſame Reformation made in the Commonwealth, that he would have made in the Church, eſpecially it being obvious to every Mans experience that Infallibility and Omnipotency being arrogated to one Man, are equally miſchievous in both. God has not ſo modelled the Government of the World as to make it the duty of any Civil Community to ſubmit to the Cruelties of Tyrants, and yet to leave the Church at liberty to free themſelves from Slavery and Tyranny: nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no Arms into the Churches hand but thoſe of Patience and Innocence, Prayer and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; but the Commonwealth, all the Magiſtracy are by him entruſted with the preſervation and execution of the Laws, with the power of puniſhing and revenging; he has put the Sword into their hands. I cannot but ſmile at this Man's prepoſterous whimſies; in Eccleſiaſticks he's *Helvidius*, *Thraſeas*, a perfect *Tyrannicide*. In Politicks no Man more a Lackey and Slave to Tyrants than he. If his Doctrine hold, not we only that have depos'd our King, but the Proteſtants in general, who againſt the minds of their Princes have rejected the Pope, are all Rebels alike. But I've confounded him long enough with his own Arguments. Such is the nature of the Beaſt, leſt his Adverſary ſhould be unprovided, he himſelf furniſhes him with Weapons. Never did any Man give his Antagoniſt greater advantages againſt himſelf than he does. They that he has to do withal, will be ſooner weary of purſuing him, than he of flying.

CHAP. IV.

PErhaps you think, *Salmaſius*, that you have done enough to ingratiate your ſelf with Princes; that you have deſerved well of 'em: but if they conſider their own Intereſt, and take their meaſures according to what it really is, not according to the falſe Gloſs that your flatteries have put upon it, there never was any Man in the World that deſerv'd ſo ill of 'em as you, none more deſtructive and pernicious to them and their intereſt in the whole World than your ſelf. For by exalting the Power of Kings above all Humane Laws, you tell all Mankind that are ſubject to ſuch a Government, that they are no better than Slaves, and make them but the more deſirous of Liberty by diſcovering to them their error, and putting that into their heads that they never ſo much as dreamt of before, to wit, that they are Slaves to their Princes. And without doubt ſuch a ſort of Government will be more irkſome and unſufferable, by how much the more you perſwade the World, that it is not by the allowance and ſubmiſſion of Nations, that Kings have obtained this exorbitant Power; but that it is abſolutely eſſential to ſuch a form of Government, and of the nature of the thing it ſelf. So that whether you make the World of your mind or no, your Doctrine muſt needs be miſchievous and deſtructive, and ſuch as cannot but be abhorred of all Princes. For if you ſhould work men into a perſwaſion that the Right of Kings is without all bounds, they would no longer be ſubject to a Kingly Government; if you miſs of your aim, yet you make men weary of Kings, by telling them that they aſſume ſuch a power to themſelves, as of right belonging to them. But if Princes will allow of thoſe Principles

that I aſſert; if they will ſuffer themſelves and their own power to be circumſcribed by Laws, inſtead of an uncertain, weak and violent Government, full of cares and fears, they will reign peaceably, quietly, and ſecurely. If they ſlight this counſel of mine, though wholſome in its ſelf, becauſe of the meanneſs of the Author, they ſhall know that it is not my counſel only, but what was anciently adviſed by one of the wiſeſt of Kings. For *Lycurgus* King of *Lacedemon*, when he obſerved that his own Relations that were Princes of *Argos* and *Meſſana*, by endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Government, had ruin'd themſelves and their People; he, that he might benefit his Country, and ſecure the Succeſſion to his own Family, could think upon no better expedient, than to communicate his Power to the Senate, and taking the great Men of the Realm into part of the Government with himſelf; and by this means the Crown continued in his Family for many ages. But whether it was *Lycurgus*, or, as ſome learned men are of opinion, *Theopompus*, that introduced that mixt Form of Government among the *Lacedemonians*, ſomewhat more than a hundred years after *Lycurgus's* time (of whom it is recorded, that he uſed to boaſt, that by advancing the Power of the Senate above that of the Prince, he had ſetled the Kingdom upon a ſure Foundation, and was like to leave it in a laſting and durable condition to his Poſterity) which of them ſoever it was, I ſay, he has left a good Example to Modern Princes; and was as creditable a Counſellor, as his Counſel was ſafe. For that all men ſhould ſubmit to any one man, ſo as to acknowledg a Power in him ſuperior to all humane Laws, neither did any Law ever enact, nor indeed was it poſſible that any ſuch Law ſhould ever be; for that cannot be ſaid to be a Law, that ſtrikes at the root of all Laws, and takes them quite away. It being appa-

rent that your Poſitions are inconſiſtent with the nature of all Laws, being ſuch as render them no Laws at all. You endeavour notwithſtanding, in this Fourth Chapter, to make good by Examples, what you have not been able to do by any Reaſons that you have alledged hitherto. Let's conſider whether your Examples help your Cauſe; for they many times make things plain, which the Laws are either altogether ſilent in, or do but hint at. We'll begin firſt with the *Jews*, whom we ſuppoſe to have known moſt of the mind of God; and then, according to your own method, we'll come to the Times of Chriſtianity. And firſt, for thoſe Times in which the *Iſraelites* being ſubject to Kings, who, or whoſoever they were, did their utmoſt to caſt that ſlaviſh yoke from off their necks. *Eglon* the King of *Moab* had made a Conqueſt of them; the Seat of his Empire was at *Jericho;* he was no contemner of the true God; when his Name was mentioned, he roſe from his Seat: The *Iſraelites* had ſerved him eighteen Years; they ſent a Preſent to him, not as to an Enemy, but to their own Prince; notwithſtanding which outward Veneration and Profeſſion of Subjection, they kill him by a wile, as an Enemy to their Countrey. You'll ſay perhaps, that *Ehud*, who did that action, had a Warrant from God for ſo doing. He had ſo, 'tis like; and what greater Argument of its being a warrantable and praiſe-worthy action? God uſes not to put Men upon things that are unjuſt, treacherous and cruel, but upon ſuch things as are vertuous and laudable. But we read no where that there was any poſitive Command from Heaven in the caſe. *The Iſraelites called upon God;* So did we. And God ſtirred up a Saviour for them; ſo he did for us. *Eglon* of a Neighbouring Prince became a Prince of the *Jews;* of an Enemy to them he became their King. Our Gentleman of an *Engliſh* King be-

came an Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation; ſo that he ceas'd to be a King. Thoſe Capacities are inconſiſtent. No Man can be a Member of the State, and an Enemy to it at the ſame time. *Antony* was never lookt upon by the *Romans* as a Conſul, nor *Nero* as an Emperor, after the Senate had voted them both Enemies. This *Cicero* tells us in his *Fourth Philippick: If* Antony *be a Conſul*, ſays he, Brutus *is an Enemy; but if* Brutus *be a Saviour and Preſerver of the Commonwealth*, Antony *is an Enemy: none but robbers count him a Conſul.* By the ſame reaſon, ſay I, who but Enemies to their Countrey look upon a Tyrant as a King? So that *Eglon's* being a Foreigner, and King *Charles* a Prince of our own, will make no difference in the caſe; both being Enemies, and both Tyrants, they are in the ſame circumſtances. If *Ehud* kill'd him juſtly, we have done ſo too in putting our King to death. *Sampſon* that Renowned Champion of the *Hebrews*, tho his Countrey-men blam'd him for it, *Doſt thou not know*, ſay they, *that the Philiſtines have dominion over us?* Yet againſt thoſe *Philiſtines*, under whoſe Dominion he was, he himſelf undertook a War in his own Perſon, without any other help; and whether he acted in purſuance of a Command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own Valour only; or whatſoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many that tyrannized over his Countrey, having firſt called upon God by Prayer, and implored his Aſſiſtance. So that *Sampſon* counted it no act of Impiety, but quite contrary, to kill thoſe that enſlaved his Countrey, tho they had dominion over himſelf too; and tho the greater part of his Country-men ſubmitted to their Tyranny. *But yet* David *who was both a King and a Prophet, would not take away* Saul's *life, becauſe he was God's anointed.* Does it follow that becauſe *David* refuſed to do a thing, therefore we are obliged not

to do that very thing? *David* was a private Perſon, and would not kill the King; is that a precedent for a Parliament, for a whole Nation? *David* would not revenge his own Quarrel, by putting his Enemy to death by ſtealth; does it follow that therefore the Magiſtrates muſt not puniſh a Malefactor according to Law? He would not kill a King; Muſt not an Aſſembly of the States therefore puniſh a Tyrant? He ſcrupled the killing of God's anointed; Muſt the People therefore ſcruple to condemn their own anointed? Eſpecially one that after having ſo long profeſſed Hoſtility againſt his own People, had waſh'd off that anointing of his, whether Sacred or Civil, with the Blood of his own Subjects. I confeſs that thoſe Kings whom God by his Prophets anointed to be Kings, or appointed to ſome ſpecial ſervice, as he did *Cyrus*, *Iſa.* 44. may not improperly be called the *Lord's anointed;* but all other Princes, according to the ſeveral ways of their coming to the Government, are the People's anointed, or the Army's, or many times the anointed of their own Faction only. But taking it for granted, That all Kings are God's anointed, you can never prove, That therefore they are above all Laws, and not to be called in queſtion, what Villanies ſoever they commit. What if *David* laid a charge upon himſelf and other private Perſons not to ſtretch forth their hands againſt the Lords anointed? Does not God himſelf command Princes not ſo much as *to touch his anointed?* Which were no other than his People, *Pſal.* 105. He preferred that anointing wherewith his People were anointed, before that of Kings, if any ſuch thing were. Would any man offer to infer from this place of the *Pſalmiſt*, That Believers are not to be called in queſtion, tho they offend againſt the Laws, becauſe God commands Princes not to touch his Anointed? King *Solomon* was about to put to death *Abiathar* the Prieſt, tho

he were *God's Anointed* too;- and did not ſpare him becauſe of his *Anointing*, but becauſe he had been his Father's Friend. If that Sacred and Civil Anointing, wherewith the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* was anointed, whereby he was not only conſtituted High-Prieſt, but a Temporal Magiſtrate in many caſes, did not exempt him from the Penalty of the Laws; how comes a Civil Anointing only to exempt a Tyrant? But you ſay, *Saul was a Tyrant, and worthy of death:* What then? It does not follow, that becauſe he deſerved it, that *David* in the circumſtances he was then under, had power to put him to death without the People's Authority, or the Command of the Magiſtracy. But was *Saul* a Tyrant? I wiſh you would ſay ſo; indeed you do ſo, though you had ſaid before in your *Second Book*, page 32. That *he was no Tyrant, but a good King, and choſen of God.* Why ſhould falſe Accuſers, and Men guilty of Forgery be branded, and you eſcape without the like ignominious Mark? For they practiſe their Villanies with leſs Treachery and Deceit than you write, and treat of matters of the greateſt moment. *Saul* was a good King, when it ſerv'd your turn to have him ſo; and now he's a Tyrant, becauſe it ſutes with your preſent purpoſe. But 'tis no wonder that you make a Tyrant of a good King; for your Principles look as if they were invented for no other deſign, than to make all good Kings ſo. But yet *David*, tho he would not put to death his Father-in-Law, for Cauſes and Reaſons that we have nothing to do withal, yet in his own Defence he raiſed an Army, took and poſſeſſed Cities that belong'd to *Saul*, and would have defended *Keilah* againſt the King's Forces, had he not underſtood that the Citizens would be falſe to him. Suppoſe *Saul* had beſieged the Town, and himſelf had been the firſt that had ſcal'd the Walls; do you think *David* would preſently have thrown down his Arms,

and have betray'd all thoſe that aſſiſted him to his *anointed* Enemy? I believe not. What reaſon have we to think *David* would have ſtuck to do what we have done, who when his Occaſions and Circumſtances ſo required, proffered his Aſſiſtance to the *Philiſtines*, who were then the profeſſed Enemies of his Country, and did that againſt *Saul*, which I am ſure we ſhould never have done againſt our Tyrant? I'm weary of mentioning your Lies, and aſham'd of them. You ſay, 'tis a Maxim of the *Engliſh*, *That Enemies are rather to be ſpared than Friends;* and that therefore *we conceived we ought not to ſpare our King's Life, becauſe he had been our Friend.* You impudent Lyar, what Mortal ever heard this Whimſy before you invented it? But we'll excuſe it. You could not bring in that thredbare Flouriſh, of our being more fierce than our own Maſtiffs (which now comes in the fifth time, and will as oft again before we come to the end of your Book) without ſome ſuch Introduction. We are not ſo much more fierce than our own Maſtiffs, as you are more hungry than any Dog whatſoever, who return ſo greedily to what you have vomited up ſo often. Then you tell us, That *David* commanded the *Amalekite* to be put to death, who pretended to have killed *Saul*. But that Inſtance, neither in reſpect of the Fact, nor the Perſon, has any Affinity with what we are diſcourſing of. I do not well underſtand what cauſe *David* had to be ſo ſevere upon that Man, for pretending to have haſtned the King's death, and in effect but to have put him out of his pain, when he was dying; unleſs it were to take away from the *Iſraelites* all ſuſpicion of his own having been inſtrumental in it, whom they might look upon as one that had revolted to the *Philiſtines*, and was part of their Army. Juſt ſuch another Action as this of *David's*, do all Men blame in *Domitian*, who put to death *Epaphroditus*, becauſe

he had helped *Nero* to kill himſelf. After all this, as another inſtance of your Impudence, you call him not only the *anointed of the Lord*, but *the Lord's Chriſt*, who a little before you had ſaid was a Tyrant, and acted by the impulſe of ſome evil Spirit. Such mean thoughts you have of that Reverend Name, that you are not aſham'd to give it to a Tyrant, whom you your ſelf confeſs to have been poſſeſſed with the Devil. Now I come to that Precedent, from which every Man that is not blind muſt needs infer the Right of the People to be ſuperior to that of Kings. When *Solomon* was dead, the People aſſembled themſelves at *Sichem* to make *Rehoboam* King. Thither himſelf went, as one that ſtood for the place, that he might not ſeem to claim the Succeſſion as his Inheritance, nor the ſame Right over a freeborn People that every Man has over his Father's Sheep and Oxen. The People propoſe Conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him to the Government. He deſires three days time to adviſe; he conſults with the old Men; they tell him no ſuch thing, as that he had an abſolute Right to ſucceed, but perſwade him to comply with the People, and ſpeak them fair, it being in their Power whether he ſhould reign or not. Then he adviſes with the young Men that were brought up with him; they, as if *Salmaſius's* Phrenſy had taken them, thunder this Right of Kings into his Ears; perſwade him to threaten the People with *Whips* and *Scorpions:* And he anſwered the People as they adviſed him. When all *Iſrael* ſaw that the King hearkned not to them, then they openly proteſt the Right of the People, and their own Liberty; *What portion have we in David? To thy Tents, O Iſrael: now look to thine own Houſe, David.* When the King ſent *Adoram* to them, they ſtoned him with Stones, and perhaps they would not have ſtuck to have ſerv'd the King himſelf ſo, but he made haſte and got out

of the way. The next News is of a great Army rais'd by *Rehoboam* to reduce the *Iſraelites* to their Allegiance. God forbids him to proceed, *Go not up*, ſays he, *to war againſt your Brethren the Children of Iſrael; for this thing is of me.* Now conſider; heretofore the People had deſired a King; God was diſpleaſed with them for it, but yet permitted them to make a King, according to that Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governors. Now the People reject *Rehoboam* from ruling them; and this God not only ſuffers them to do, but forbids *Rehoboam* to make War againſt them for it, and ſtops him in his undertaking; and teaches him withal, that thoſe that had revolted from him, were not Rebels in ſo doing; but that he ought to look upon them as Brethren. Now recollect your ſelf: You ſay that all Kings are of God, and that therefore the People ought not to reſiſt them, be they never ſuch Tyrants. I anſwer you, The Convention of the People, their Votes, their Acts, are likewiſe of God, and that by the Teſtimony of God himſelf in this place; and conſequently according to your Argument, by the Authority of God himſelf, Princes ought not to reſiſt the People. For as certain as it is, that Kings are of God, and whatever Argument you may draw from thence to enforce a Subjection and Obedience to them: So certain is it, that free Aſſemblies of the Body of the People are of God, and that naturally affords the ſame Argument for their Right of reſtraining Princes from going beyond their Bounds, and rejecting them if there be occaſion; nor is their ſo doing a juſtifiable Cauſe of War, any more than the People of *Iſrael's* rejecting *Rehoboam* was. You aſk, why the People did not revolt from *Solomon?* Who but you would aſk ſuch an impertinent Queſtion? You ſee they did revolt from a Tyrant, and were neither puniſhed, nor blam'd

for it. It is true, *Solomon* fell into ſome Vices, but he was not therefore a Tyrant; he made amends for his Vices by many excellent Vertues, that he was famous for, by many Benefits which accrued to the Nation of the *Jews* by his Government. But admit that he had been a Tyrant: Many times the Circumſtances of a Nation are ſuch, that the People will not, and many times ſuch, that they cannot depoſe a Tyrant. You ſee they did it when it was in their Power. *But*, ſay you, Jeroboam's *Act was ever had in Deteſtation; 'twas looked upon as an unjuſt revolt from a lawful Prince; he and his Succeſſors were accounted Rebels.* I confeſs we find his revolt from the true Worſhip of God often found fault with; but I no where find him blam'd for revolting from *Rehoboam;* and his Succeſſors are frequently ſpoken of as wicked Princes, but not as Rebels. *Acting contrary to Law and Right*, ſay you, *cannot introduce, or eſtabliſh a Right.* I pray, what becomes then of your Right of Kings? Thus do you perpetually baffle your ſelf. You ſay, *Adulteries, Murders, Thefts are daily committed with impunity.* Are you not aware, that here you give an anſwer to your own Queſtion, how it comes to paſs, that Tyrants do ſo often eſcape unpuniſhed? You ſay, *Thoſe Kings were Rebels, and yet the Prophets do no where diſſwade the People from their Allegiance.* And why do you, ye raſcally falſe Prophet, endeavour to perſwade the People of *England* not to yield Obedience to their preſent Magiſtrates, tho in your Opinion they are Rebels? *This* Engliſh *Faction of Robbers*, ſay you, *alledg for themſelves, that by ſome immediate Voice from Heaven, they were put upon their bloody Enterprize.* It is notoriouſly evident, that you were diſtracted when you wrote theſe Lines; for as you have put the words together, they are neither Latin, nor Senſe. And that the *Engliſh* pretend to any

ſuch warrant, as a Juſtification of their Actions, is one of thoſe many Lies and Fictions that your Book is full of. But I proceed to urge you with Examples. *Libna*, a great City revolted from *Joram*, becauſe he had forſaken God; 'twas the King therefore that was guilty, not the City, nor is the City blam'd for it. He that conſiders the reaſon that's given why that City rejected his Government, muſt conclude that the Holy Ghoſt rather approves of what they did, then condemns them for it. *Theſe kind of revolts are no precedents*, ſay you. But why were you then ſo vain, as to promiſe in the beginning of this Chapter, that you would argue from Examples, whereas all the Examples that you alledg, are meer Negatives, which prove nothing? and when we urge Examples that are ſolid and poſitive, you ſay they are no Precedents. Who would endure ſuch a way of arguing? You challenged us at Precedents; we produced them; and what do you do? You hang back, and get out of the way. I proceed: *Jehu* at the Command of a Prophet, ſlew a King; nay, he ordered the death of *Ahaziah*, his own Liege Prince. If God would not have Tyrants put to death by their own Subjects, if it were a wicked thing ſo to do, a thing of a bad Example; why did God himſelf command it? If he commanded it, it was a lawful, commendable, and a praiſe-worthy Action. It was not therefore lawful to kill a Tyrant, becauſe God commanded it; but God commanded it, becauſe antecedently to his Command, it was a juſtifiable, and a lawful Action. Again, *Jehoiada* the High-Prieſt did not ſcruple to depoſe *Athaliah*, and kill her, tho ſhe had been ſeven years in actual Poſſeſſion of the Crown. *But*, ſay you, *ſhe took upon her the Government when ſhe had no Right to it*. And did not you ſay your ſelf, but a while ago, *That* Tiberius *aſſumed the Soveraignty when it belonged*

not at all to him? And yet you then affirm'd, that according to our Saviour's Doctrine, we ought to yield Obedience to ſuch Tyrants as he was. 'Twere a moſt ridiculous thing to imagine, that a Prince, who gets in by Uſurpation, may lawfully be depoſed; but one that rules tyrannically may not. *But*, ſay you, *Athaliah* could not poſſibly reign according to the Law of the *Jewiſh* Kingdom, *Thou ſhalt ſet over thee a King, ſays God Almighty; he does not ſay, Thou ſhalt ſet over thee a Queen.* If this Argument have any weight, I may as well ſay, the Command of God was, that the People ſhould ſet over themſelves a King, not a Tyrant. So that I'm even with you. *Amazias* was a ſlothful, idolatrous Prince, and was put to death, not by a few Conſpirators; but rather, it ſhould ſeem, by the Nobility, and by the Body of the People. For he fled from *Jeruſalem*, had none to ſtand by him, and they purſued him to *Lachiſh:* They took counſel againſt him, ſays the Hiſtory, becauſe he had forſaken God: And we do not find that *Azarias* his Son proſecuted thoſe that had cut off his Father. You quote a great many frivolous paſſages out of the *Rabbins*, to prove that the Kings of the *Jews* were ſuperiour to the *Sanhedrim*. You do not conſider *Zedekia's* own words, *Jerem.* 38. *The King is not he that can do any thing againſt you.* So that this was the Prince's own ſtile. Thus he confeſſed himſelf inferior to the great Council of the Realm. *Perhaps*, ſay you, *he meant that he durſt not deny them any thing for fear of Sedition.* But what does your *perhaps* ſignify, whoſe moſt poſitive aſſerting any thing is not worth a Louſe? For nothing in Nature can be more fickle and inconſiſtent than you are. How oft have you appear'd in this Diſcourſe inconſtant with your ſelf; unſaying with one Breath what you had ſaid with another: Here, again, you make Compariſons betwixt King *Charles*,

and ſome of the good Kings of *Judah*. You ſpeak contemptibly of *David*, as if he were not worthy to come in competition with him. *Conſider* David, ſay you, *an Adulterer, a Murderer; King* Charles *was guilty of no ſuch Crimes*. Solomon *his Son, who was accounted wiſe*, &c. Who can with patience hear this filthy, raſcally Fool, ſpeak ſo irreverently of Perſons eminent both in Greatneſs and Piety? Dare you compare King *David* with King *Charles*; a moſt Religious King and Prophet, with a Superſtitious Prince, and who was but a Novice in the Chriſtian Religion; a moſt prudent, wiſe Prince with a weak one; a valiant Prince with a cowardly one; finally, a moſt juſt Prince with a moſt unjuſt one? Have you the impudence to commend his Chaſtity and Sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of Leudneſs in company with his Confident the Duke of *Buckingham?* It were to no purpoſe to enquire into the private Actions of his Life, who publickly at Plays would embrace and kiſs the Ladies laſciviouſly, and handle Virgins and Matrons Breaſts, not to mention the reſt? I adviſe you therefore, you counterfeit *Plutarch*, to abſtain from ſuch like Parallels, leſt I be forced to publiſh thoſe things concerning King *Charles*, which I am willing to conceal. Hitherto we have entertain'd our ſelves with what the People of the *Jews* have acted or attempted againſt Tyrants, and by what Right they did it in thoſe times, when God himſelf did immediately, as it were, by his Voice from Heaven govern their Commonwealth. The Ages that ſucceeded, do not afford us any Authority, as from themſelves, but confirm us in our Opinion by their imitating the Actions of their Fore-fathers. For after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, when God did not give any new command concerning the Crown, tho the Royal Line was not extinct, we find the People returning to the

old Mosaical Form of Government again. They were one while Tributaries to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; yet when he injoyn'd them things that were contrary to the Law of God, they resisted him, and his Deputies, under the Conduct of their Priests, the *Maccabees*, and by force regain'd their former Liberty. After that, whoever was accounted most worthy of it, had the Principality conferr'd upon him. Till at last, *Hircanus* the Son of *Simon*, the Brother of *Judah*, the *Maccabee*, having spoiled *David's* Sepulchre, entertain'd foreign Soldiers, and began to invest the Priesthood with a kind of Regal Power. After whose time his Son *Aristobulus* was the first that assum'd the Crown; he was a Tyrant indeed, and yet the People stirred not against him, which is no great wonder, for he reigned but one Year. And he himself being overtaken with a grievous Disease, and repenting of his own Cruelty and Wickedness, desired nothing more than to dye, and had his wish. His Brother *Alexander* succeeded him; *and against him*, you say, *the People raised no Insurrection*, tho he were a Tyrant too. And this Lie might have gone down with us, if *Josephus's* History had not been extant. We should then have had no memory of those times, but what your *Josippus* would afford us, out of whom you transcribe a few senseless and useless Apothegms of the *Pharisees*. The History is thus: *Alexander* administred the Public Affairs ill, both in War and Peace; and tho he kept in pay great numbers of *Pisidians* and *Cilicians*, yet could he not protect himself from the Rage of the People: but whilst he was sacrificing they fell upon him, and had almost smother'd him with Boughs of Palmtrees and Citron-trees. Afterward the whole Nation made War upon him six Years, during which time, when many thousands of the *Jews* had been slain, and he himself being at

length deſirous of Peace, demanded of them, what they would have him do to ſatisfy them; they told him nothing could do that, but his Blood, nay, that they ſhould hardly pardon him after his death. This Hiſtory you perceiv'd was not for your purpoſe, and ſo you put it off with a few Phariſaical Sentences; when it had been much better, either to have let it quite alone, or to have given a true Relation of it: but you truſt to Lies more than to the Truth of your Cauſe. Even thoſe eight hundred *Phariſees*, whom he commanded to be crucified, were of their number that had taken up Arms againſt him. And they with the reſt of the People had ſolemnly proteſted, That if they could ſubdue the King's Forces, and get his Perſon into their Power, they would put him to death. After the death of *Alexander*, his Wife *Alexandra* took the Government upon her, as *Athalia* had formerly done, not according to Law (for you have confeſſed, that the Laws of the *Jews* admitted not a Female to wear the Crown) but ſhe got it partly by force, for ſhe maintain'd an Army of Foreigners; and partly by favour, for ſhe had brought over the *Phariſees* to her Intereſt, which ſort of Men were of the greateſt Authority with the People. Them ſhe had made her own, by putting the Power into their Hands, and retaining to her ſelf only the Name. Juſt as the *Scotch* Preſbyterians lately allowed *Charles* the Name of King, but upon condition, that he would let them be King in effect. After the death of *Alexandra*, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, her Sons, contended for the Sovereignty: *Ariſtobulus* was more induſtrious, and having a greater Party, forced his Elder Brother out of the Kingdom. A while after, when *Pompey* paſſed through *Syria*, in his return from the *Mithridatick* War; the *Jews*, ſuppoſing they had now an opportunity of regaining their Liberty, by referring their

Cause to him, dispatcht an Embassy to him in their own Names; they renounce both the Brothers; complain that they had enslaved them. *Pompey* deposed *Aristobulus*, leaves the Priesthood, and such a Principality as the Laws allowed to *Hyrcanus* the Elder. From that time forward he was called High-Priest, and *Ethnarcha*. After these times in the Reign of *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*, the *Jews* sent fifty Ambassadors to *Augustus Cæsar*; accused *Herod* that was dead, and *Archelaus* his Son, that then reigned; they deposed him as much as in them lay, and petition'd the Emperor, that the People of the *Jews* might be govern'd without a King. *Cæsar* was moved at their entreaty, and did not appoint a King over them, but a Governour, whom they called an *Ethnarch*. When that Governour had presided ten years over *Judea*, the People sent Ambassadors again to *Rome*, and accused him of Tyranny. *Cæsar* heard them graciously; sent for the Governour, condemn'd him to perpetual Exile, and banished him to *Vienna*. Answer me now, That People that accused their own Princes, that desir'd their Condemnation, that desir'd their Punishment, would not they themselves rather, if it had been in their Power, and that they might have had their choice; would not they, I say, rather have put them to death themselves? You do not deny, but that the People, and the Nobles often took up Arms against the *Roman* Deputies, when by their Avarice, or their Cruelty, their Government was burdensome and oppressive. But you give a ridiculous reason for this, as all the rest of yours are. You say, *They were not yet accustomed to the Yoke*; very like they were not, under *Alexander*, *Herod*, and his Son. *But*, say you, *they would not raise War against* Caius Cæsar, *nor* Petronius. I confess they did not, and they did very prudently in abstaining, for they were not able. Will you hear

their own words upon that occaſion? *We will not make War*, ſay they, *becauſe we cannot*. That thing which they themſelves acknowledg, they refrain'd from for want of Ability; you, falſe Hypocrite, pretend they abſtain'd from out of Religion. Then with a great deal of toil you do juſt nothing at all; for you endeavour to prove out of the Fathers (tho you had done it as ſuperficially before) that Kings are to be prayed for. That good Kings are to be pray'd for, no Man denies; nay, and bad ones too, as long as there are any hopes of them: ſo we ought to pray for Highway-men, and for our Enemies. But how? Not that they may plunder, ſpoil and murder us; but that they may repent. We pray both for Thieves and Enemies; and yet whoever dreamt but that it was lawful to put the Laws in execution againſt one, and to fight againſt the other? I value not the *Egyptian* Liturgy that you quote; but the Prieſt that you mention, who prayed *Commodus* might ſucceed his Father in the Empire, did not pray for any thing in my opinion, but imprecated all the miſchiefs imaginable to the *Roman* State. You ſay, *that we have broken our Faith, which we engaged more than once in ſolemn Aſſemblies to preſerve the Authority and Majeſty of the King*. But becauſe hereafter you are more large upon that ſubject, I ſhall paſs it by in this place; and talk with you when you come to it again. You return then to the Fathers; concerning whom take this in ſhort. Whatever they ſay, which is not warranted by the Authority of the Scriptures, or by good Reaſon, ſhall be of no more regard with me, than if any other ordinary Man had ſaid it. The firſt that you quote is *Tertullian*, who is no Orthodox Writer, notorious for many errors; whoſe authority, if he were of your opinion, would ſtand you in no ſtead. But what ſays he? He condemns Tumults and Rebellions. So do we.

But in ſaying ſo, we do not mean to deſtroy all the Peoples Rights and Privileges, all the Authority of Senates, the Power of all Magiſtrates, the King only excepted. The Fathers declaim againſt Seditions raſhly raiſed, by the giddy heat of the multitude; they ſpeak not of the inferior Magiſtrates, of Senates, of Parliaments encouraging the People to a lawful oppoſing of a Tyrant. Hence *Ambroſe* whom you quote, " Not to reſiſt, *ſays he*, but to weep and to " ſigh, theſe are the Bulwarks of the Prieſthood; " what one is there of our little number who dares " ſay to the Emperor, I do not like your Laws? " This is not allowed the Prieſts, and ſhall Lay-men " pretend to it?" 'Tis evident of what ſort of Perſons he ſpeaks, *viz.* of the Prieſts, and ſuch of the People as are private Men, not of the Magiſtrates. You ſee by how weak and prepoſterous a reaſon he lighted a Torch as it were to the diſſentions that were afterwards to ariſe betwixt the Laity and the Clergy concerning even Civil, or Temporal Laws. But becauſe you think you preſs hardeſt upon us with the Examples of the Primitive Chriſtians; who tho they were haraſſed as much as a People could be, yet, you ſay, *they never took up Arms againſt the Emperour:* I will make it appear, in the firſt place, that for the moſt part they could not: Secondly, that whenever they could, they did: And thirdly, that whether they did or did not, they were ſuch a ſort of People, as that their example deſerves but to have little ſway with us. Firſt therefore, no Man can be ignorant of this, that when the Commonwealth of *Rome* expired, the whole and ſovereign power in the Empire was ſetled in the Emperour; that all the Souldiers were under his pay; inſomuch that if the whole Body of the Senate, the *Equeſtrian* Order, and all the common People had endeavoured to work a change, they might have made way for a maſſacre of them-

ſelves, but could not in any probability retrieve their loſt Liberty: for the Empire would ſtill have continued, tho they might perhaps have been ſo lucky as to have kill'd the Emperour. This being ſo, what could the Chriſtians do? 'tis true there were a great many of them; but they were diſperſed, they were generally Perſons of mean quality, and but of ſmall intereſt in the World. How many of them would one Legion have been able to keep in awe? Could ſo inconſiderable a body of Men as they were in thoſe days, ever expect to accompliſh an Enterprize that many famous Generals, and whole Armies of tried Soldiers had loſt their lives in attempting? When about 300 years after our Saviour's Nativity, which was near upon 20 years before the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, when *Dioclesian* was Emperour, there was but one Chriſtian Legion in the whole *Roman* Empire; which Legion for no other reaſon than becauſe it conſiſted of Chriſtians, was ſlain by the reſt of the Army at a Town in *France* called *Octodurum*. *The Chriſtians*, ſay you, *conſpir'd not with* Caſſius, *with* Albinus, *with* Niger; and does *Tertullian* think they merited by not being willing to loſe their lives in the quarrels of Infidels? 'Tis evident therefore that the Chriſtians could not free themſelves from the yoke of the *Roman* Emperours; and it could be no ways advantageous to their intereſt to conſpire with Infidels, as long as Heathen Emperours reign'd. But that afterwards the Chriſtians made War upon Tyrants, and defended themſelves by force of Arms when there was occaſion, and many times revenged upon Tyrants their Enormities, I am now about to make appear. In the firſt place, *Conſtantine* being a Chriſtian, made War upon *Lucinius*, and cut him off, who was his Partner in the Sovereign Power, becauſe he moleſted the *Eaſtern* Chriſtians; by which act of his he declared thus much at leaſt,

That one Magiſtrate might puniſh another: For he for his Subjects ſake puniſhed *Licinius*, who to all intents was as abſolute in the Empire as himſelf, and did not leave the vengeance to God alone: *Licinius* might have done the ſame to *Conſtantine*, if there had been the like occaſion. So then, if the matter be not wholly reſerved to Gods own Tribunal, but that Men have ſomething to do in the caſe, why did not the Parliament of *England* ſtand in the ſame relation to King *Charles*, that *Conſtantine* did to *Licinius*? The Soldiers made *Conſtantine* what he was. But our Laws have made our Parliaments equal, nay, ſuperior to our Kings. The Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* reſiſted *Conſtantius* an *Arian* Emperour, by force of Arms, as long as they were able; they oppoſed *Hermogenes* whom he had ſent with a Military power to depoſe *Paul* an Orthodox Biſhop; the houſe whither he had betaken himſelf for ſecurity, they fired about his ears, and at laſt killed him right out. *Conſtans* threatned to make War upon his Brother *Conſtantius*, unleſs he would reſtore *Paul* and *Athanaſius* to their Biſhopricks. You ſee thoſe holy Fathers, when their Biſhopricks were in danger, were not aſhamed to ſtir up their Prince's own Brother to make War upon him. Not long after, the Chriſtian Soldiers, who then made whom they would Emperors, put to death *Conſtans* the Son of *Conſtantinus*, becauſe he behaved himſelf diſſolutely and proudly in the Government, and tranſlated the Empire to *Magnentius*. Nay, thoſe very perſons that ſaluted *Julian* by the name of Emperour, againſt *Conſtantius's* will, who was actually in poſſeſſion of the Empire (for *Julian* was not then an Apoſtate, but a vertuous and valiant perſon) are they not amongſt the number of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians, whoſe Example you propoſe to us for our imitation? Which action of theirs, when *Conſtantius* by his Letters to

the People very ſharply and earneſtly forbad, (which Letters were openly read to them) they all cried out unanimouſly, That themſelves had but done what the Provincial Magiſtrates, the Army, and the Authority of the Commonwealth had decreed. The ſame perſons declared War againſt *Conſtantius*, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive him both of his Government and his Life. How did the Inhabitants of *Antioch* behave themſelves, who were none of the worſt ſort of Chriſtians? I'll warrant you they prayed for *Julian*, after he became an Apoſtate, whom they uſed to rail at in his own preſence, and ſcoffing at his long Beard bid him make Ropes of it: Upon the news of whoſe death they offer'd publick Thankſgivings, made Feaſts, and gave other publick Demonſtrations of Joy. Do you think they uſed when he was alive to pray for the continuance of his life and health? Nay, is it not reported, that a Chriſtian Soldier in his own Army was the Author of his death? *Sozomen*, a Writer of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, does not deny it, but commends him that did it, if the Fact were ſo; "For it is no wonder, *ſays he*, that "ſome of his own Soldiers might think within himſelf, that not only the *Greeks*, but all Mankind "hitherto had agreed that it was a commendable "action to kill a Tyrant; and that they deſerve all "mens praiſe, who are willing to die themſelves to "procure the liberty of all others: ſo that that Soldier ought not raſhly to be condemned, who in "the Cauſe of God and of Religion, was ſo zealous "and valiant." Theſe are the words of *Sozomen*, a good and Religious Man of that age. By which we may eaſily apprehend what the general opinion of pious men in thoſe days was upon this point. *Ambroſe* himſelf being commanded by the Emperour *Valentinian* the Younger, to depart from *Milan*, refuſed to obey him, but defended himſelf and the Pa-

lace by force of Arms against the Emperour's Officers, and took upon him, contrary to his own Doctrin, *to resist the higher powers*. There was a great sedition raised at *Constantinople* against the Emperour *Arcadius*, more than once, by reason of *Chrysostom's* Exile. Hitherto I have shewn how the Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards Tyrants; how not only the Christian Soldiers, and the People, but the Fathers of the Church themselves, have both made War upon them, and opposed them with force, and all this before St. *Austin's* time: for you your self are pleased to go down no lower; and therefore I make no mention of *Valentinian* the Son of *Placidia*, who was slain by *Maximus* a Senater, for committing Adultery with his Wife; nor do I mention *Avitus* the Emperour, whom, because he disbanded the Soldiers, and betook himself wholly to a luxurious life, the *Roman* Senate immediately deposed; because these things came to pass some years after St. *Austin's* death. But all this I give you: Suppose I had not mentioned the practice of the Primitive Christians; suppose they never had stirred in opposition to Tyrants; suppose they had accounted it unlawful so to do; I will make it appear that they were not such Persons, as that we ought to rely upon their Authority, or can safely follow their Example. Long before *Constantin's* time the generality of Christians had lost much of the Primitive Sanctity and Integrity both of their Doctrine and Manners. Afterwards, when he had vastly enriched the Church, they began to fall in love with Honour and Civil Power, and then the Christian Religion went to wrack. First Luxury and Sloth, and then a great drove of Heresies and Immoralities broke loose among them; and these begot Envy, Hatred and Discord, which abounded every where. At last, they that were linked together into one Brotherhood by that holy band of Religion, were as

much at variance and ſtrife among themſelves, as the moſt bitter Enemies in the world could be. No reverence for, no conſideration of their duty was left amongſt them: the Soldiers and Commanders of the Army, as oft as they pleaſed themſelves, created new *Emperors*, and ſometimes killed good ones as well as bad. I need not mention ſuch as *Verannio*, *Maximus*, *Eugenius*, whom the Soldiers all of a ſudden advanced and made them Emperors; nor *Gratian*, an excellent Prince; nor *Valentinian* the younger, who was none of the worſt, and yet were put to death by them. It is true, theſe things were acted by the Soldiers, and Soldiers in the Field; but thoſe Soldiers were Chriſtians, and lived in that Age which you call Evangelical, and whoſe example you propoſe to us for our imitation. Now you ſhall hear how the Clergy managed themſelves: Paſtors and Biſhops, and ſometimes thoſe very Fathers whom we admire and extol to ſo high a degree, every one of whom was a Leader of their ſeveral Flocks; thoſe very men, I ſay, fought for their Biſhopricks, as Tyrants did for their Soveraignty; ſometimes throughout the City, ſometimes in the very Churches, ſometimes at the Altar, Clergymen and Lay-men fought promiſcuouſly; they ſlew one another, and great ſlaughters were made on both ſides. You may remember *Damaſus* and *Urciſinus*, who were Contemporaries with *Ambroſe*. It would be too long to relate the tumultuary Inſurrections of the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, eſpecially thoſe under the Conduct and Management of *Cyrillus*, whom you extol as a Preacher up of Obedience; when the Monks in that Fight, within the City, had almoſt ſlain *Oreſtes*, *Theodoſius's* Deputy. Now who can ſufficiently wonder at your Impudence, or Careleſſneſs and Neglect? " *Till St.* " Auſtin's *time*, ſay you, *and lower down than the Age* " *that he lived in, there is not any mention extant in*

" *Hiſtory, of any private Perſon, of any Commander,* " *or of any number of Conſpirators, that have put their* " *Prince to death, or taken up Arms againſt him.*" I have named to you out of known and approved Hiſtories, both private Perſons and Magiſtrates, that with their own hands have ſlain not only bad, but very good Princes: Whole Armies of Chriſtians, many Biſhops amongſt them, that have fought againſt their own Emperors. You produce ſome of the Fathers, that with a great flouriſh of words, perſuade or boaſt of Obedience to Princes: And I, on the other ſide, produce both thoſe ſame Fathers, and others beſides them, that by their actions have declined Obedience to their Princes, even in lawful things; have defended themſelves with a Military Force againſt them; others that have oppoſed forcibly, and wounded their Deputies; others that being Competitors for Biſhopricks, have maintained Civil Wars againſt one another: As if it were lawful for Chriſtians to wage War with Chriſtians for a Biſhoprick, and Citizens with Citizens; but unlawful to fight againſt a Tyrant, in defence of our Liberty, of our Wives and Children, and of our Lives themſelves. Who would own ſuch Fathers as theſe? You produce St. *Auſtin*, who you ſay, aſſerts that *the Power of a Maſter over his Servants, and a Prince over his Subjects, is one and the ſame thing*. But I anſwer; If St. *Auſtin* aſſert any ſuch thing, he aſſerts what neither our Saviour, nor any of his Apoſtles ever aſſerted; tho for the confirmation of that Aſſertion, than which nothing can be more falſe, he pretends to rely wholly upon their Authority. The three or four laſt Pages of this Fourth Chapter, are ſtuffed with meer Lies, or things careleſly and looſely put together, that are little to the purpoſe: And that every one that reads them, will diſcover by what has been ſaid already. For what concerns the Pope, againſt whom you declaim

ſo loudly, I am content you ſhould bawl at him, till you are hoarſe. But whereas you endeavour to perſwade the ignorant, That *all that called themſelves Chriſtians, yielded an entire obedience to Princes, whether good or bad, till the Papal Power grew to that height, that it was acknowledged ſuperior to that of the Civil Magiſtrate, and till he took upon him to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance:* I have ſufficiently proved by many Examples before and ſince the age that St. *Auguſtin* lived in, that nothing can be more falſe. Neither does that ſeem to have much more truth in it, which you ſay in the laſt place; *viz. That Pope* Zachary *abſolved the* French-men *from their Oath of Allegiance to their King.* For *Francis Hottoman*, who was both a *French-man* and a Lawyer, and a very learned man, in the 13th Chapter of his *Francogallia*, denies that either *Chilperic* was depoſed, or the Kingdom tranſlated to *Pepin* by the Pope's Authority; and he proves out of very Ancient Chronicles of that Nation, That the whole affair was tranſacted in the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the Original Conſtitution of that Government. Which being once done, the *French* Hiſtories, and Pope *Zachary* himſelf, deny that there was any neceſſity of abſolving his Subjects from their Allegiance. For not only *Hottoman*, but *Guiccard*, a very eminent Hiſtorian of that Nation, informs us, That the Ancient Records of the Kingdom of *France* teſtify, That the Subjects of that Nation upon the firſt inſtitution of Kingſhip amongſt them, reſerved a power to themſelves, both of chuſing their Princes, and of depoſing them again, if they thought fit: And that the Oath of Allegiance which they took, was upon this expreſs condition; *to wit*, That the King ſhould likewiſe perform what at his Coronation he ſwore to do. So that if Kings by miſgoverning the People committed to their charge, firſt broke

their own Oath to their Subjects, there needs no Pope to dispense with the Peoples Oath; the Kings themselves by their own perfidiousness having absolved their Subjects. And finally, Pope *Zachary* himself in a Letter of his to the *French*, which you your self quote, renounces, and ascribes to the People that Authority which you say he assumes to himself: For "if a Prince be accountable to the People, be-"ing beholden to them for his Royalty; if the Peo-"ple, since they make Kings, have the same Right "to depose them," as the very words of that Pope are; it is not likely that the *French-men* would by any Oath depart in the least from that Ancient Right, or ever tye up their own hands, so as not to have the same Right that their Ancestors always had, to depose bad Princes, as well as to honour and obey good ones; nor is it likely that they thought themselves obliged to yield that Obedience to Tyrants, which they swore to yield only to good Princes. A People obliged to Obedience by such an Oath, is discharged of that Obligation, when a lawful Prince becomes a Tyrant, or gives himself over to Sloth and Voluptuousness; the rule of Justice, the very Law of Nature dispenses with such a Peoples Allegiance. So that even by the Pope's own opinion, the People were under no Obligation to yield Obedience to *Chilperic*, and consequently had no need of a Dispensation.

CHAP. V.

THo I am of opinion, *Salmasius*, and always was, That the Law of God does exactly agree with the Law of Nature; so that having shown what the Law of God is, with respect to Princes, and what the practise has been of the People of God, both *Jews* and *Christians*, I have at the same time, and by the

ſame Diſcourſe, made appear what is moſt agreeable to the Law of Nature: yet becauſe you pretend *to confute us moſt powerfully by the Law of Nature*, I will be content to admit that to be neceſſary, which before I had thought would be ſuperfluous; that in this Chapter I may demonſtrate, That nothing is more ſutable to the Law of Nature, than that Puniſhment be inflicted upon Tyrants. Which if I do not evince, I will then agree with you, that likewiſe by the Law of God they are exempt. I do not purpoſe to frame a long Diſcourſe of Nature in general, and the original of Civil Societies: that Argument has been largely handled by many Learned Men, both *Greek* and *Latin*. But I ſhall endeavour to be as ſhort as may be; and my deſign is not ſo much to confute you (who would willingly have ſpared this pains) as to ſhow that you confute your ſelf, and deſtroy your own Poſitions. I'll begin with that firſt Poſition which you lay down as a Fundamental, and that ſhall be the Groundwork of my enſuing Diſcourſe. *The Law of Nature*, ſay you, *is a Principle imprinted on all mens minds, to regard the good of all Mankind, conſidering men as united together in Societies. But this innate Principle cannot procure that common good, unleſs, as there are people that muſt be governed, ſo that very Principle aſcertain who ſhall govern them.* To wit, leſt the ſtronger oppreſs the weaker, and thoſe perſons, who for their mutual Safety and Protection have united themſelves together, ſhould be diſunited and divided by Injury and Violence, and reduced to a beaſtial ſavage life again. This I ſuppoſe is what you mean. *Out of the number of thoſe that united into one body*, you ſay, *there muſt needs have been ſome choſen, who excelled the reſt in Wiſdom and Valour; that they either by force, or by perſwaſion, might reſtrain thoſe that were refractory, and keep them within due bounds. Sometimes it would ſo fall out that*

one ſingle Perſon, whoſe Conduct and Valour was extraordinary, might be able to do this, and ſometimes more aſſiſted one another with their Advice and Counſel. But ſince it is impoſſible that any one man ſhould order all things himſelf, there was a neceſſity of his conſulting with others, and taking ſome into part of the Government with himſelf: So that whether a ſingle perſon reign, or whether the Supreme Power reſide in the body of the People, ſince it is impoſſible that all ſhould adminiſter the affairs of the Commonwealth, or that one man ſhould do all, the Government does always lie upon the ſhoulders of many. And afterwards you ſay, *Both Forms of Government, whether by many or a few, or by a ſingle perſon, are equally according to the Law of Nature: for both proceed from the ſame Principle of Nature,* viz. *That it is impoſſible for any ſingle perſon ſo to govern alone, as not to admit others into a ſhare of the Government with himſelf.* Tho I might have taken all this out of the Third Book of *Ariſtotle's* Politicks, I choſe rather to tranſcribe it out of your own Book; for you ſtole it from him, as *Prometheus* did Fire from *Jupiter*, to the ruin of Monarchy, and overthrow of your ſelf, and your own opinion. For enquire as diligently as you can for your life, into the Law of Nature, as you have deſcribed it, you will not find the leaſt footſtep in it of Kingly Power, as you explain it. *The Law of Nature*, ſay you, *in ordering who ſhould govern others, reſpected the univerſal good of all mankind.* It did not then regard the private good of any particular perſon, not of a Prince, ſo that the King is for the People, and conſequently the People ſuperior to him; which being allowed, it is impoſſible that Princes ſhould have any right to oppreſs or enſlave the people; that the inferior ſhould have right to tyrannize over the ſuperior. So that ſince Kings cannot pretend toany right to do miſchief, the right of the people muſt be ac-

knowledged according to the Law of Nature to be ſuperior to that of Princes; and therefore by the ſame right, that before Kingſhip was known, men united their Strength and Counſels for their mutual Safety and Defence; by the ſame right, that for the preſervation of all mens Liberty, Peace, and Safety, they appointed one or more to govern the reſt; by the ſame right they may depoſe thoſe very perſons, whom for their Valour or Wiſdom they advanced to the Government, or any others that rule diſorderly, if they find them by reaſon of their ſlothfulneſs, folly, or impiety, unfit for Government: ſince Nature does not regard the good of one, or of a few, but of all in general. For what ſort of perſons were they whom you ſuppoſe to have been choſen? You ſay, *they were ſuch as excelled in Courage and Conduct*, to wit, ſuch as by Nature ſeemed fitteſt for Government; who by reaſon of their excellent Wiſdom and Valour, were enabled to undertake ſo great a Charge. The conſequence of this I take to be, That right of Succeſſion is not by the Law of Nature; that no Man by the Law of Nature has right to be King, unleſs he excel all others in Wiſdom and Courage; that all ſuch as reign, and want theſe qualifications, are advanced to the Government by Force or Faction; have no right by the Law of Nature to be what they are, but ought rather to be Slaves than Princes. For Nature appoints that Wiſe Men ſhould govern Fools, not that Wicked Men ſhould rule over Good Men; Fools over Wiſe Men: And conſequently, they that take the Government out of ſuch mens hands, act according to the Law of Nature. To what end Nature directs Wiſe Men ſhould bear the Rule, you ſhall hear in your own words; *viz.* "*That by Force* "*or by Perſwaſion, they may keep ſuch as are unruly,* "*within due bounds.*" But how ſhould he keep others within the bounds of their duty, that neglects,

or is ignorant of, or wilfully acts contrary to his own? Alledg now, if you can, any dictate of Nature, by which we are enjoined to neglect the wise Institutions of the Law of Nature, and have no regard to them in Civil and Publick Concerns, when we see what great and admirable things Nature her self effects in things that are inanimate and void of sense, rather than lose her end. Produce any Rule of Nature, or Natural Justice, by which inferior Criminals ought to be punished, but Kings and Princes to go unpunished; and not only so, but tho guilty of the greatest Crimes imaginable, be had in Reverence, and almost adored. You agree, That *all Forms of Government, whether by many, or a few, or by a single person, are equally agreeable to the Law of Nature.* So that the person of a King is not by the Law of Nature more sacred than a Senate of Nobles, or Magistrates, chosen from amongst the common people, who you grant may be punished, and ought to be, if they offend; and consequently, Kings ought to be so too, who are appointed to rule for the very same end and purpose that other Magistrates are. *For* say you, *Nature does not allow any single person to bear rule so entirely, as not to have Partners in the Government.* It does not therefore allow of a Monarch; it does not allow one single person to rule so, as that all others should be in a slavish subjection to his Commands only. You that give Princes such Partners in the Government, *as in whom*, to use your own words, *the Government always resides*, do at the same time make others Colleagues with them, and equal to them; nay, and consequently you settle a power in those Colleagues of punishing, and of deposing them. So that while you your self go about, not to extol a Kingly Government, but to establish it by the Law of Nature, you destroy it; no greater misfortune could befal Soveraign Princes, than to have such an

Advocate as you are. Poor, unhappy wretch! what blindneſs of mind has ſeiz'd you, that you ſhould unwittingly take ſo much pains to diſcover your knavery and folly, and make it viſible to the world (which before you conceal'd, in ſome meaſure and diſguis'd) that you ſhould be ſo induſtrious to heap diſgrace and ignominy upon your ſelf. What offence does Heaven puniſh you for, in making you appear in publick, and undertake the defence of a deſperate Cauſe, with ſo much impudence and childiſhneſs, and inſtead of defending it, to betray it by your ignorance? What Enemy of yours would deſire to ſee you in a more forlorn, deſpicable condition than you are, who have no refuge left from the depth of miſery, but in your own imprudence and want of ſenſe, ſince by your unſkilful and ſilly defence, you have rendered Tyrants the more odious and deteſtable, by aſcribing to them an unbounded liberty of doing miſchief with Impunity; and conſequently have created them more Enemies than they had before? But I return to your Contradictions. When you had reſolved with your ſelf to be ſo wicked as to endeavour to find out a foundation for Tyranny in the Law of Nature, you ſaw a neceſſity of extolling Monarchy above other ſorts of Government; which you cannot go about to do, without doing as you uſe to do, that is contradicting your ſelf. For having ſaid but a little before, *That all Forms of Government, whether by more or fewer, or by a ſingle perſon, are equally according to the Law of Nature*, now you tell us, *that of all theſe ſorts of Government, that of a ſingle perſon is moſt natural.* Nay, though you had ſaid in expreſs terms but lately, *That the Law of Nature does not allow that any Government ſhould reſide entirely in one man.* Now upbraid whom you will with the putting of Tyrants to death; ſince you your ſelf by your own folly, have cut the Throats of all Monarchs, nay even of Mo-

narchy it ſelf. But it is not to the purpoſe for us here to diſpute which Form of Government is beſt, by one ſingle perſon, or by many. I confeſs many eminent and famous men have extolled Monarchy; but it has always been upon this ſuppoſition, that the Prince were a very excellent perſon, and one that of all others deſerved beſt to reign; without which Suppoſition, no Form of Government can be ſo prone to Tyranny as Monarchy is. And whereas you reſemble a Monarchy to the Government of the World, by one Divine Being, I pray anſwer me, Whether you think that any other can deſerve to be inveſted with a power here on Earth, that ſhall reſemble his power that governs the World, except ſuch a perſon as does infinitely excel all other Men, and both for Wiſdom and Goodneſs in ſome meaſure reſemble the Deity? and ſuch a perſon in my opinion, none can be but the Son of God himſelf. And whereas you make a Kingdom to be a kind of Family, and make a compariſon betwixt a Prince and the Maſter of a Family; obſerve how lame the Parallel is. For a Maſter of a Family begot part of his Houſhold, at leaſt he feeds all thoſe that are of his houſe, and upon that account deſerves to have the Government; but the reaſon holds not in the caſe of a Prince; nay 'tis quite contrary. In the next place, you propoſe to us for our imitation the example of inferior Creatures, eſpecially of Birds, and amongſt them of Bees, which according to your ſkill in Natural Philoſophy, are a ſort of Birds too; *The Bees have a King over them.* The Bees of *Trent* you mean; don't you remember? all other Bees, you your ſelf confeſs to be Commonwealths. But leave off playing the fool with Bees; they belong to the Muſes, and hate, and (you ſee) confute ſuch a Beetle as you are. *The Quails are under a Captain.* Lay ſuch ſnares for your own *Bitterns;* you are not Fowler good enough

to catch us. Now you begin to be perſonally concerned. *Gallus Gallinaceus*, a Cock, ſay you, *has both Cocks and Hens under him*. How can that be, ſince you your ſelf that are *Gallus*, and but too much *Gallinaceus*, by report cannot govern your own ſingle Hen, but let her govern you? So that if a *Gallinaceus* be a King over many Hens, you that are a ſlave to one, muſt own your ſelf not to be ſo good as a *Gallinaceus*, but ſome *Stercorarius Gallus*, ſome Dunghil-Cock or other. For matter of Books, there is no body publiſhes huger Dunghils than you, and you diſturb all people with your ſhitten Cock-crow; that's the only property in which you reſemble a true Cock. I'll throw you a great many Barley-corns, if in ranſacking this Dungil Book of yours, you can ſhow me but one Jewel. But why ſhould I promiſe you Barley, that never peckt at Corn, as that honeſt plain Cock that we read of in *Æſop*, but at Gold, as that Roguey Cock in *Plautus*, though with a different event; for you found a hundred *Jacobuſſes*, and he was ſtruck dead with *Euclio's* Club, which you deſerve more than he did. But let us go on: *That ſame natural reaſon that deſigns the good and ſafety of all Mankind, requires, that whoever is once promoted to the Soveraignty, be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of it*. Who ever queſtion'd this, as long as his preſervation is conſiſtent with the ſafety of all the reſt? But is it not obvious to all men that nothing can be more contrary to natural reaſon than that any one man ſhould be preſerved and defended to the utter ruin and deſtruction of all others? But yet (you ſay) *it is better to keep and defend a bad Prince, nay one of the worſt that ever was, than to change him for another; becauſe his ill Government cannot do the Commonwealth ſo much harm as the diſturbances will occaſion, which muſt of neceſſity be raiſed before the people can get rid of him*. But what is this to the Right of Kings by

the Law of Nature? If Nature teaches me rather to ſuffer my ſelf to be robbed by High-way men, or if I ſhould be taken Captive by ſuch, to purchaſe my Liberty with all my Eſtate, than to fight with them for my life, can you infer from thence, that they have a natural right to rob and ſpoil me? Nature teaches men to give way ſometimes to the violence and outrages of Tyrants, the neceſſity of affairs ſometimes enforces a Toleration with their enormities; what foundation can you find in this forced patience of a Nation, in this compulſory ſubmiſſion, to build a Right upon, for Princes to tyrannize by the Law of Nature? That Right which Nature has given the people for their own preſervation, can you affirm that ſhe has inveſted Tyrants with for the people's ruin and deſtruction? Nature teaches us, of two evils to chuſe the leaſt; and to bear with oppreſſion, as long as there is a neceſſity of ſo doing; and will you infer from hence, that Tyrants have ſome Right by the Law of Nature to oppreſs their Subjects, and go unpuniſhed, becauſe as circumſtances may fall out, it may ſometimes be a leſs miſchief to bear with them than to remove them? Remember what your ſelf once wrote concerning Biſhops againſt a Jeſuit; you were then of another opinion than you are now: I have quoted your words formerly; you there affirm *that ſeditious Civil diſſentions and diſcords of the Nobles and Common People againſt and amongſt one another, are much more tolerable, and leſs miſchievous than certain miſery and deſtruction under the Government of a ſingle perſon, that plays the Tyrant.* And you ſaid very true. For you had not then run mad; you had not then been bribed with *Charles* his *Jacobuſſes.* You had not got the *King's-Evil.* I ſhould tell you perhaps, if I did not know you, that you might be aſhamed thus to prevaricate. But you can ſooner burſt than bluſh, who have caſt off all ſhame for a

little profit. Did you not remember, that the Commonwealth of the people of *Rome* flouriſhed and became glorious when they had baniſhed their Kings? Could you poſſibly forget that of the *Low Countries?* which after it had ſhook off the Yoke of the King of *Spain*, after long and tedious Wars, but crown'd with ſucceſs, obtained its Liberty, and feeds ſuch a pitiful Grammarian as your ſelf with a Penſion; but not with a deſign that their youth might be ſo infatuated by your Sophiſtry, as to chuſe rather to return to their former Slavery than inherit the Glorious Liberty which their Anceſtors purchaſed for them. May thoſe pernicious principles of yours be baniſhed with your ſelf into the moſt remote and barbarous Corners of the World. And laſt of all, the Commonwealth of *England* might have afforded you an example, in which *Charles*, who had been their King, after he had been taken captive in War, and was found incurable, was put to death. But *they have defaced and impoveriſhed the Iſland with Civil broils and diſcords, which under its Kings was happy, and ſwam in Luxury*. Yea, when it was almoſt buried in Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs, and the more inured thereto, that it might be enthralled the more eaſily; when its Laws were aboliſhed, and its Religion agreed to be ſold, they delivered it from Slavery. You are like him that publiſhed *Simplicius* and *Epictetus* in the ſame Volume; a very grave Stoick, *Who call an Iſland happy, becauſe it ſwims in Luxury*. I'm ſure no ſuch Doctrine ever came out of *Zeno's* School. But why ſhould not you, who would give Kings a power of doing what they liſt, have liberty your ſelf to broach what new Philoſophy you pleaſe? Now begin again to act your part. *There never was in any King's Reign ſo much blood ſpilt, ſo many Families ruined.* All this is to be imputed to *Charles*, not to us, who firſt raiſed an Army of *Iriſhmen* againſt us:

who by his own Warrant authorized the *Iriſh* Nation to conſpire againſt the *Engliſh;* who by their means ſlew two hundred thouſand of his *Engliſh* Subjects in the Province of *Ulſter*, beſides what Numbers were ſlain in other parts of that Kingdom; who ſollicited two Armies towards the deſtruction of the Parliament of *England*, and the City of *London;* and did many other actions of Hoſtility before the Parliament and People had liſted one Soldier for the preſervation and defence of the Government. What Principles, what Law, what Religion ever taught men rather to conſult their eaſe, to ſave their Money, their Blood, nay their Lives themſelves, than to oppoſe an Enemy with force? for I make no difference betwixt a Foreign Enemy and another, ſince both are equally dangerous and deſtructive to the good of the whole Nation. The People of *Iſrael* ſaw very well, that they could not poſſibly puniſh the *Benjamites* for murdering the *Levite's* Wife, without the loſs of many Mens Lives: And did that induce them to ſit ſtill? Was that accounted a ſufficient Argument why they ſhould abſtain from War, from a very Bloody Civil War? Did they therefore ſuffer the death of one poor Woman to be unrevenged? Certainly if Nature teaches us rather to endure the Government of a King, though he be never ſo bad, than to endanger the lives of a great many Men in the recovery of our Liberty; it muſt teach us likewiſe not only to endure a Kingly Government, which is the only one that you argue ought to be ſubmitted to, but even an Ariſtocracy and a Democracy: Nay, and ſometimes it will perſwade us, to ſubmit to a Multitude of Highway-men, and to Slaves that mutiny. *Fulvius* and *Rupilius*, if your Principles had been received in their days, muſt not have engaged in the Servile War (as their Writers call it) after the *Prætorian* Armies were ſlain: *Craſſus* muſt not have marched againſt

Spartacus, after the Rebels had deſtroyed one *Roman* Army, and ſpoil'd their Tents: Nor muſt *Pompey* have undertaken the *Piratick* War. But the State of *Rome* muſt have purſued the dictates of Nature, and muſt have ſubmitted to their own Slaves, or to the Pyrates rather than run the hazard of loſing ſome Mens Lives. You do not prove at all, that Nature has imprinted any ſuch notion as this of yours on the minds of Men: And yet you cannot forbear boding us ill luck, and denouncing the Wrath of God againſt us (which may Heaven divert, and inflict it upon your ſelf, and all ſuch Prognoſticators as you) who have puniſhed as he deſerved, one that had the name of our King, but was in Fact our implacable Enemy; and we have made Atonement for the death of ſo many of our Countreymen, as our Civil Wars have occaſion'd, by ſhedding his Blood, that was the Author and Cauſe of them. Then you tell us, that a Kingly Government appears to be more according to the Laws of Nature, becauſe *more Nations, both in our days and of old, have ſubmitted to that Form of Government, than ever did to any other.* I anſwer, If that be ſo, it was neither the effect of any dictate of the Law of Nature, nor was it in Obedience to any Command from God. God would not ſuffer his own People to be under a King; he conſented at laſt, but unwillingly: what Nature and right Reaſon dictates, we are not to gather from the practiſe of moſt Nations, but of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent. The *Grecians*, the *Romans*, the *Italians*, and *Carthaginians*, with many other, have of their own accord, out of choice, preferr'd a Commonwealth to a Kingly Government; and theſe Nations that I have named, are better inſtances than all the reſt. Hence *Sulpitius Severus* ſays, " That the very name of a King " was always very odious among freeborn People." But theſe things concern not our preſent purpoſe, nor

many other Impertinences that follow over and over again. I'll make haſte to prove that by Examples which I have proved already by Reaſon; *viz.* That it is very agreeable to the Law of Nature, that Tyrants ſhould be puniſhed; and that all Nations by the inſtinct of Nature, have puniſhed them; which will expoſe your Impudence, and make it evident, that you take a liberty to publiſh palpable downright Lies. You begin with the *Egyptians;* and indeed, who does not ſee, that you play the Gipſy your ſelf throughout? *Amongſt them,* ſay you, *there is no mention extant of any King, that was ever ſlain by the People in a Popular Inſurrection, no War made upon any of their Kings by their Subjects, no attempt made to depoſe any of them.* What think you then of *Oſiris,* who perhaps was the firſt King that the *Egyptians* ever had? Was not he ſlain by his Brother *Typhon,* and five and twenty other Conſpirators? And did not a great part of the Body of the People ſide with them, and fight a Battel with *Iſis* and *Orus,* the late King's Wife and Son? I paſs by *Seſoſtris,* whom his Brother had well nigh put to death, and *Chemmis,* and *Cephrenes,* againſt whom the People were deſervedly enraged; and becauſe they could not do it while they were alive, they threatned to tear them in pieces after they were dead. Do you think that a People that durſt lay violent hands upon good Kings, had any reſtraint upon them, either by the Light of Nature or Religion, from putting bad ones to Death? Could they that threatned to pull the dead Bodies of their Princes out of their Graves, when they ceaſed to do miſchief, (tho by the Cuſtom of their own Country, the Corps of the meaneſt Perſon was ſacred and inviolable) abſtain from inflicting Puniſhment upon them in their Life-time, when they were acting all their Villanies, if they had been able; and that upon ſome Maxim of the Law of Nature? I know

you would not ſtick to anſwer me in the affirmative, how abſurd ſoever it be; but that you may not offer at it, I'll pull out your Tongue. Know then, that ſome Ages before *Cephrenes's* time, one *Ammoſis* was King of *Egypt*, and was as great a Tyrant, as who has been the greateſt; him the People bore with. This you are glad to hear; this is what you would be at. But hear what follows, my honeſt Tell-troth. I ſhall ſpeak out of *Diodorus*, *They bore with him for ſome while, becauſe he was too ſtrong for them.* But when *Actiſanes* King of *Ethiopia* made war upon him, they took that opportunity to revolt, ſo that being deſerted, he was eaſily ſubdued, and *Egypt* became an Acceſſion to the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*. You ſee the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they could, took up Arms againſt a Tyrant; they joined Forces with a Foreign Prince, to depoſe their own King, and diſinherit his Poſterity; they choſe to live under a moderate and good Prince, as *Actiſanes* was, tho a Foreigner, rather than under a Tyrant of their own. The ſame People with a very unanimous Conſent took up Arms againſt *Apries*, another Tyrant, who relied upon Foreign Aids that he had hired to aſſiſt him. Under the Conduct of *Amaſis* their General they conquered, and afterward ſtrangled him, and placed *Amaſis* in the Throne. And obſerve this Circumſtance in the Hiſtory; *Amaſis* kept the Captive King a good while in the Palace, and treated him well: At laſt, when the People complain'd that he nouriſhed his own and their Enemy; he delivered him into their hands, who put him to death in the manner I have mentioned. Theſe things are related by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. Where are you now? Do you think that any Tyrant would not chuſe a *Hatchet* rather than a *Halter*? *Afterwards*, ſay you, *when the* Egyptians *were brought nto ſubjection by the* Perſians, *they continued faithful to them;* which is moſt falſe, they never were

faithful to them: For in the fourth year after *Cambyses* had ſubdued them, they rebelled. Afterward, when *Xerxes* had tamed them, within a ſhort time they revolted from his Son *Artaxerxes*, and ſet up one *Inarus* to be their King. After his death they rebell'd again, and created one *Tachus* King, and made war upon *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Neither were they better Subjects to their own Princes, for they depoſed *Tachus*, and conferr'd the Government upon his Son *Nectanebus*, till at laſt *Artaxerxes Ochus* brought them the ſecond time under ſubjection to the *Perſian* Empire. When they were under the *Macedonian* Empire, they declared by their Actions, that Tyrants ought to be under ſome reſtraint: They threw down the Statues and Images of *Ptolomæus Phyſco*, and would have killed him, but that the mercenary Army that he commanded, was too ſtrong for them. His Son *Alexander* was forced to leave his Country by the meer violence of the People, who were incenſed againſt him for killing his Mother. And the People of *Alexandria* dragged his Son *Alexander* out of the Palace, whoſe inſolent Behaviour gave juſt Offence, and killed him in the Theatre. And the ſame People depoſed *Ptolomæus Auletes* for his many Crimes. Now, ſince it is impoſſible that any Learned Man ſhould be ignorant of theſe things that are ſo generally known; and ſince it is an inexcuſable Fault in *Salmaſius* to be ignorant of them, whoſe Profeſſion it is to teach them others, and whoſe very aſſerting things of this nature ought to carry in it ſelf an Argument of Credibility; it is certainly a very ſcandalous thing (I ſay) either that ſo ignorant, illiterate a Blockhead, ſhould to the ſcandal of all Learning, profeſs himſelf, and be accounted a Learned Man, and obtain Salaries from Princes and States; or that ſo impudent and notorious a Lyar ſhould not be branded with ſome particular mark of Infamy, and for ever baniſhed from

the Society of learned and honeſt Men. Having ſearched among the *Egyptians* for Examples, let us now conſider the *Ethiopians* their Neighbours. They adore their Kings, whom they ſuppoſe God to have appointed over them, even as if they were a ſort of Gods: And yet whenever the Prieſts condemn any of them, they kill themſelves; And on that manner, ſays *Diodorus*, they puniſh all their Criminals; they put them not to death, but ſend a Miniſter of Juſtice to command them to deſtroy their own Perſons. In the next place you mention the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes*, and the *Perſians*, who of all others were moſt obſervant of their Princes: And you affirm, contrary to all Hiſtorians that have wrote any thing concerning thoſe Nations, That *the Regal Power there, had an unbounded Liberty annexed to it, of doing what the King liſted.* In the firſt place the Prophet *Daniel* tells us, how the *Babylonians* expelled *Nebuchadnezzar* out of Human Society, and made him graze with the Beaſts, when his Pride grew to be inſufferable. The Laws of thoſe Countries were not entituled the Laws of their Kings, but the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians;* which Laws were irrevocable, and the Kings themſelves were bound by them: Inſomuch that *Darius* the *Mede*, tho he earneſtly deſired to have delivered *Daniel* from the hands of the Princes, yet could not effect it. *Thoſe Nations*, ſay you, *thought it no ſufficient pretence to reject a Prince, becauſe he abuſed the Right that was inherent in him as he was Sovereign.* But in the very writing of theſe words you are ſo ſtupid, as that with the ſame breath that you commend the Obedience and Submiſſiveneſs of thoſe Nations, of your own accord you make mention of *Sardanapalus's* being deprived of his Crown by *Arbaces*. Neither was it he alone that accompliſhed that Enterpriſe; for he had the aſſiſtance of the Prieſts (who of all others were beſt verſed in the

Law) and of the People; and it was wholly upon this account that he depoſed him, becauſe he abuſed his authority and power, not by giving himſelf over to cruelty, but to luxury and effeminacy. Run over the Hiſtories of *Herodotus*, *Cteſias*, *Diodorus*, and you will find things quite contrary to what you aſſert here; you will find that thoſe Kingdoms were deſtroyed for the moſt part by Subjects, and not by Foreigners; that the *Aſſyrians* were brought down by the *Medes*, who then were their Subjects, and the *Medes* by the *Perſians*, who at that time were likewiſe ſubject to them. You your ſelf confeſs, that *Cyrus rebell'd, and that at the ſame time in divers parts of the Empire little upſtart Governments were formed by thoſe that ſhook off the Medes.* But does this agree with what you ſaid before? Does this prove the obedience of the *Medes* and *Perſians* to their Princes, and that *Jus Regium* which you had aſſerted to have been univerſally received amongſt thoſe Nations? What Potion can cure this brainſick Frenzy of yours? You ſay, *It appears by Herodotus how abſolute the Perſian Kings were.* *Cambyſes* being deſirous to marry his Siſter, conſulted with the Judges, who were the Interpreters of the Laws, to whoſe Deciſion all difficult matters were to be referred. What anſwer had he from them? They told him, they knew no Law which permitted a Brother to marry his Siſter; but another Law they knew, that the Kings of *Perſia* might do what they liſted. Now to this I anſwer, if the Kings of *Perſia* were really ſo abſolute, what need was there of any other to interpret the Laws, beſides the King himſelf? Thoſe ſuperfluous unneceſſary Judges would have had their abode and reſidence in any other place rather than in the Palace, where they were altogether uſeleſs. Again, if thoſe Kings might do whatever they would, it is not credible that ſo ambitious a Prince as *Cam-*

byſes was, ſhould be ſo ignorant of that grand Prerogative, as to conſult with the Judges, whether what he deſired were according to Law. What was the matter then? either they deſigned to humour the King, as you ſay they did, or they were afraid to croſs his inclination, which is the account that *Herodotus* gives of it; and ſo told him of ſuch a Law, as they knew would pleaſe him, and in plain terms made a fool of him; which is no new thing with Judges and Lawyers now a days. *But*, ſay you, Artabanus *a* Perſian *told* Themiſtocles, *that there was no better Law in* Perſia, *than that by which it was enacted, That Kings were to be honoured and adored.* An excellent Law that was without doubt which commanded Subjects to *adore* their Princes! but the Primitive Fathers have long ago damned it; and *Artabanus* was a proper perſon to commend ſuch a Law, who was the very Man that a little while after ſlew *Xerxes* with his own hand. You quote Regicides to aſſert Royalty. I am afraid you have ſome deſign upon Kings. In the next place you quote the Poet *Claudian*, to prove how obedient the *Perſians* were. But I appeal to their Hiſtories and Annals, which are full of the Revolts of the *Perſians*, the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and *Babylonians*; and give us frequent inſtances of the Murders of their Princes. The next perſon whoſe authority you cite, is *Otanes* the *Perſian*, who likewiſe killed *Smerdis* then King of *Perſia*, to whom, out of the hatred which he bore to a Kingly Government, he reckons up the impieties and injurious actions of Kings, their violation of all Laws, their putting Men to Death without any legal Conviction, their Rapes and Adulteries; and all this you will have called the Right of Kings, and ſlander *Samuel* again as a teacher of ſuch Doctrines. You quote *Homer*, who ſays that Kings derive their Authority from *Jupiter*; to which I have already

given an anſwer. For King *Philip* of *Macedon*, whoſe aſſerting the Right of Kings, you make uſe of: I'll believe *Charles* his deſcription of it, as ſoon as his. Then you quote ſome Sentences out of a fragment of *Diogenes* a *Pythagorean;* but you do not tell us what ſort of a King he ſpeaks of. Obſerve therefore how he begins that Diſcourſe; for whatever follows muſt be underſtood to have relation to it. " Let him be King, *ſays he*, that of all others is " moſt juſt, and ſo he is that acts moſt according to " Law; for no Man can be King that is not juſt; " and without Laws there can be no Juſtice." This is directly oppoſite to that Regal Right of yours. And *Ecphantas*, whom you likewiſe quote, is of the ſame opinion: " Whoſoever takes upon him to be " a King, ought to be naturally moſt pure and clear " from all imputation." And a little after, " Him, " *ſays he*, we call a King, that governs well, and he " only is properly ſo." So that ſuch a King as you ſpeak of, according to the Philoſophy of the *Pythagoreans*, is no King at all. Hear now what *Plato* ſays in his *Eighth Epiſtle:* " Let Kings, *ſays he*, be " liable to be called to account for what they do: " Let the Laws controul not only the People, but " Kings themſelves, if they do any thing not war- " ranted by Law." I'll mention what *Ariſtotle* ſays in the *Third Book of his Politicks;* " It is neither for " the Publick Good, nor is it juſt, *ſays he*, ſeeing all " men are by nature alike and equal, that any one " ſhould be Lord and Maſter over all the reſt, where " there are no Laws? nor is it for the Publick Good, " or Juſt, that one man ſhould be a Law to the reſt, " where there are Laws; nor that any one, tho a " good man, ſhould be Lord over other good men, " nor a bad man over bad men." And in the *Fifth Book*, ſays he, " That King whom the People refuſe " to be govern'd by, is no longer a King, but a Ty-

" rant." Hear what *Xenophon* ſays in *Hiero:* " Peo-
" ple are ſo far from revenging the deaths of Ty-
" rants, that they confer great Honour upon him that
" kills one, and erect Statues in their Temples to the
" Honour of Tyrannicides." Of this I can produce an Eye-witneſs, *Marcus Tullius*, in his Oration *pro Milone*, " The *Grecians*, *ſays he*, aſcribe Divine
" Worſhip to ſuch as kill Tyrants: What things of
" this nature have I my ſelf ſeen at *Athens*, and in
" the other Cities of *Greece?* How many Religious
" Obſervances have been inſtituted in honour of ſuch
" men? How many Hymns? They are conſecrated
" to Immortality and Adoration, and their Memory
" endeavoured to be perpetuated." And laſtly, *Polibius*, a Hiſtorian of great Authority and Gravity, in the *Sixth Book* of his *Hiſtory* ſays thus: " When
" Princes began to indulge their own Luſts and ſen-
" ſual Appetites, then Kingdoms were turned into
" ſo many Tyrannies, and the Subjects began to con-
" ſpire the death of their Governors; neither was it
" the profligate ſort that were the Authors of thoſe
" Deſigns, but the moſt Generous and Magnani-
" mous." I could quote many ſuch like paſſages, but I ſhall inſtance in no more. From the Philoſophers you appeal to the Poets; and I am very willing to follow you thither. *Æſchylus is enough to inform us, That the Power of the Kings of* Greece *was ſuch, as not to be liable to the cenſure of any Laws, or to be queſtioned before any Human Judicature; for he in that Tragedy that is called,* The Suppliants, *calls the King of the* Argives, *a Governor not obnoxious to the Judgment of any Tribunal.* But you muſt know (for the more you ſay, the more you diſcover your raſhneſs and want of judgment) you muſt know, I ſay, that one is not to regard what the Poet ſays, but what perſon in the Play ſpeaks, and what that perſon ſays; for different perſons are introduced, ſome-

times good, ſometimes bad; ſometimes wiſe men, ſometimes fools; and ſuch words are put into their mouths, as it is moſt proper for them to ſpeak; not ſuch as the Poet would ſpeak, if he were to ſpeak in his own perſon. The Fifty Daughters of *Danaus* being baniſhed out of *Egypt*, became Suppliants to the King of the *Argives;* they begg'd of him, that he would protect them from the *Egyptians*, who purſued them with a Fleet of Ships. The King told them he could not undertake their Protection, till he had imparted the matter to the people; " For, *ſays* " *he*, if I ſhould make a promiſe to you, I ſhould not " be able to perform it, unleſs I conſult with them " firſt." The Women being Strangers and Suppliants, and fearing the uncertain ſuffrages of the people, tell him, " That the Power of all the people " reſides in him alone; that he judges all others, but " is not judged himſelf by any." He anſwers: " I " have told you already, That I cannot do this thing " that you deſire of me, without the peoples con- " ſent; nay, and tho I could, I would not." At laſt he refers the matter to the people; " I will aſ- " ſemble the people, *ſays he*, and perſwade them to " protect you." The people met, and reſolved to engage in their quarrel; inſomuch that *Danaus* their Father bids his Daughters, " be of good cheer, for " the People of the Countrey, in a popular Conven- " tion, had voted their Safeguard and Defence." If I had not related the whole thing, how raſhly would this impertinent *Ignoramus* have determined concerning the Right of Kings among the *Grecians*, out of the mouths of a few Women that were Strangers and Suppliants, tho the King himſelf, and the Hiſtory be quite contrary? The ſame thing appears by the ſtory of *Oreſtes* in *Euripides*, who after his Father's death was himſelf King of the *Argives*, and yet was called in queſtion by the people for the death of his Mo-

ther, and made to plead for his Life, and by the major ſuffrage was condemned to die. The ſame Poet in his Play called *The Suppliants*, declares, That at *Athens* the Kingly Power was ſubject to the Laws; where *Theſeus* then King of that City is made to ſay theſe words: " This is a free City, it is not go-" vern'd by one man; the people reigns here." And his Son *Demophoon*, who was King after him, in another Tragedy of the ſame Poet, called *Heraclide*; " I do not exerciſe a Tyrannical Power over them, " as if they were *Barbarians:* I am upon other terms " with them; but if I do them juſtice, they will do " me the like." *Sophocles* in his *Oedipus* ſhows, That anciently in *Thebes* the Kings were not abſolute neither: Hence ſays *Tireſias* to *Oedipus*, " I am not " your Slave." And *Creon* to the ſame King, " I " have ſome Right in this City, *ſays he*, as well as " you." And in another Tragedy of the ſame Poet, called *Antigone*, *Æmon* tells the King, " That the " City of *Thebes* is not govern'd by a ſingle perſon." All men know that the Kings of *Lacedemon* have been arraigned, and ſometimes put to death judicially. Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to evince what Power the Kings in *Greece* had. Let us conſider now the *Romans:* You betake your ſelf to that paſſage of *C. Memmius* in *Saluſt*, of Kings having a liberty to do what they liſt, and go unpuniſhed; to which I have given an anſwer already. *Saluſt* himſelf ſays in expreſs words, " That the ancient Government of " *Rome* was by their Laws, tho the Name and Form " of it was Regal:" which Form of Government, when it grew into a Tyranny, you know they put down and changed. *Cicero* in his Oration againſt *Piſo*, " Shall I, *ſays he*, account him a Conſul, who " would not allow the Senate to have any Authority " in the Commonwealth? Shall I take notice of any " man as Conſul, if at the ſame time there be no

" ſuch thing as a Senate; when of old, the City of " *Rome* acknowledged not their Kings, if they acted " without or in oppoſition to the Senate?" Do you hear; the very Kings themſelves at *Rome* ſignified nothing without the Senate. *But*, ſay you, *Romulus governed as he liſted;* and for that you quote *Tacitus*. No wonder: The Government was not then eſtabliſhed by Law; they were a confus'd multitude of ſtrangers, more likely than a regulated State; and all Mankind lived without Laws, before Governments were ſetled. But when *Romulus* was dead, tho all the People were deſirous of a King, not having yet experienced the ſweetneſs of Liberty, yet, as *Livy* informs us, " The Sovereign Power reſided in the " People; ſo that they parted not with more Right " than they retained." The ſame Author tells us, " That the ſame Power was afterwards extorted from " them by their Emperours." *Servius Tullius* at firſt reigned by fraud, and as it were a Deputy to *Tarquinius Priſcus;* but afterward he referred it to the People, Whether they would have him reign or no? At laſt, ſays *Tacitus*, he became the Author of ſuch Laws as the Kings were obliged to obey. Do you think he would have done ſuch an injury to himſelf and his Poſterity, if he had been of opinion that the Right of Kings had been above all Laws? Their laſt King *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the firſt that put an end to that cuſtom of conſulting the Senate concerning all Publick Affairs; for which very thing, and other enormities of his, the People depoſed him, and baniſhed him and his Family. Theſe things I have out of *Livy* and *Cicero*, than whom you will hardly produce any better Expoſitors of the Right of Kings among the *Romans*. As for the Dictatorſhip, that was but temporary, and was never made uſe of, but in great extremities, and was not to continue longer than ſix Months. But that which you call

the Right of the *Roman* Emperours, was no Right, but a plain downright Force; and was gained by War only. *But Tacitus*, ſay you, *that lived under the Government of a ſingle Perſon, writes thus; The Gods have committed the Sovereign Power in human Affairs to Princes only, and have left to Subjects the honour of being obedient.* But you tell us not where *Tacitus* has theſe words, for you were conſcious to your ſelf, that you impoſed upon your Readers in quoting them; which I preſently ſmelt out, tho I could not find the place of a ſudden: For that Expreſſion is not *Tacitus's* own, who is an approved Writer, and of all others the greateſt Enemy to Tyrants; but *Tacitus* relates that of *M. Terentius*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, being accuſed for a Capital Crime, amongſt other things that he ſaid to ſave his Life, flattered *Tiberius* on this manner. It is in the *Sixth Book* of his *Annals*. "The Gods have entruſted you with the ul-"timate Judgment in all things; they have left us "the honour of Obedience." And you cite this paſſage as if *Tacitus* had ſaid it himſelf; you ſcrape together whatever ſeems to make for your Opinion, either out of oſtentation, or out of weakneſs; you would leave out nothing that you could find in a Baker's, or a Barber's Shop; nay, you would be glad of any thing that looked like an Argument, from the very Hangman. If you had read *Tacitus* himſelf, and not tranſcribed ſome looſe Quotations out of him by other Authors, he would have taught you whence that Imperial Right had its Original. "After the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, *ſays he*, the whole ſtate "of our Affairs was turned upſide down; nothing of "the ancient integrity of our Forefathers was left "amongſt us; all men ſhook off that former equa-"lity which had been obſerved, and began to have a "reverence for the Mandates of Princes." This you might have learned out of the *Third Book* of his *An-*

nals, whence you have all your Regal Right. "When "that ancient equality was laid aſide, and inſtead "thereof Ambition and Violence took place, Ty-"rannical Forms of Government ſtarted up, and "fixed themſelves in many Countries." This ſame thing you might have learned out of *Dio*, if your natural Levity and Unſetledneſs of Judgment would have ſuffered you to apprehend any thing that's ſolid. He tells us in the *Fifty third Book* of his *Hiſtory*, out of which Book you have made ſome quotation already, That *Octavius Cæſar*, partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, brought things to that paſs, that the Emperors of *Rome* became no longer fettered by Laws. For he, tho he promiſed to the people in publick that he would lay down the Government, and obey the Laws, and become ſubject to others; yet under pretence of making War in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, ſtill retained the Legions, and ſo by degrees invaded the Government, which he pretended he would refuſe. This was not regularly getting from under the Law, but breaking forcibly through all Laws, as *Spartacus* the Gladiator might have done; and then aſſuming to himſelf the ſtyle of Prince or Emperor, as if God or the Law of Nature had put all Men and all Laws into ſubjection under him. Would you enquire a little further into the Original of the Right of the *Roman* Emperors? *Marcus Antonius*, whom *Cæſar* (when by taking up Arms againſt the Commonwealth, he had got all the Power into his hands) had made Conſul, when a Solemnity called the *Lupercalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, as had been contrived before-hand that he ſhould ſet a Crown upon *Cæſar's* head, though the people ſighed and lamented at the ſight, cauſed it to be entred upon record, That *Marcus Antonius* at the *Lupercalia*, made *Cæſar* King at the Inſtance of the people. Of which action *Cicero* in his ſecond *Philippick* ſays, "Was

" *Lucius Tarquinius* therefore expelled, *Spurius Caſ-*
" *ſius*, *Sp. Melius*, and *Marcus Manilius* put to death,
" that after many ages *Marcus Antonius* ſhould make
" a King in *Rome* contrary to Law? But you deſerve
" to be tortured, and loaded with everlaſting diſgrace,
" much more than *Mark Antony*;" tho I would not have you proud becauſe ye and your ſelf are put together: for I do not think ſo deſpicable a Wretch as you fit to be compared with him in any thing but his Impiety; you that in thoſe horrible *Lupercalia* of yours, ſet not a Crown upon one Tyrant's head, but upon all, and ſuch a Crown as you would have limited by no Laws, nor liable to any. Indeed if we muſt believe the Oracles of the Emperors themſelves (for ſo ſome Chriſtian Emperors, as *Theodoſius* and *Valens*, have called their Edicts, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 14.) the Authority of the Emperors depends upon that of the Law. So that the Majeſty of the Perſon that reigns, even by the Judgment, or call it the Oracle of the Emperors themſelves, muſt ſubmit to the Laws, on whoſe Authority it depends. Hence *Pliny* tells *Trajan* in his *Panegyrick*, when the Power of the Emperors was grown to its height, " A Principality,
" and an Abſolute Sovereignty are quite different
" things. *Trajan* puts down whatever looks like a
" Kingdom; he rules like a Prince, that there may
" be no room for a Magiſterial Power." And afterwards, " Whatever I have ſaid of other Princes, I
" ſaid that I might ſhow how our Prince reforms
" and corrects the Manners of Princes, which by long
" cuſtom have been corrupted and depraved." Are not you aſhamed to call that the Right of Kings, that *Pliny* calls the corrupt and depraved Cuſtoms of Princes? But let this ſuffice to have been ſaid in ſhort of the Right of Kings, as it was taken at *Rome*. How they dealt with their Tyrants, whether Kings or Emperors, is generally known. They expelled *Tarquin.*

But, ſay you, *How did they expel him? Did they proceed againſt him judicially? No ſuch matter: When he would have come into the City, they ſhut the gates againſt him.* Ridiculous Fool! What could they do but ſhut the gates, when he was haſtning to them with part of the Army? And what great difference will there be, whether they baniſhed him, or put him to death, ſo they puniſhed him one way or other? The beſt men of that age kill'd *Cæſar* the Tyrant in the very Senate. Which action of theirs, *Marcus Tullius*, who was himſelf a very excellent Man, and publickly call'd the Father of his Countrey, both elſewhere and particularly in his ſecond *Philippick*, extols wonderfully. I'll repeat ſome of his words: "All good "men kill'd *Cæſar*, as far as in them lay. Some "Men could not adviſe in it, others wanted Courage "to act in it, others wanted an Opportunity, all had "a good will to it." And afterwards, "What greater "and more glorious Action (ye holy gods!) ever was "performed, not in this City only, but in any other "Country? what Action more worthy to be recom-"mended to everlaſting memory? I am not unwilling "to be included within the number of thoſe that "adviſed it, as within the *Trojan* Horſe. The paſ-"ſage of *Seneca* may relate both to the *Romans*, and "the *Grecians*, There cannot be a greater, nor more "acceptable Sacrifice offered up to *Jupiter*, than a "wicked Prince." For if you conſider *Hercules*, whoſe words theſe are, they ſhow what the Opinion was of the principal Men amongſt the *Grecians* in that Age. If the Poet, who flouriſhed under *Nero*, (and the moſt worthy Perſons in Plays generally expreſs the Poet's own Senſe) then this paſſage ſhows us what *Seneca* himſelf and all good Men, even in *Nero*'s time, thought was fit to be done to a Tyrant; and how vertuous an Action, how acceptable to God they thought it to kill one. So every good Man of

Rome, as far as in him lay, kill'd *Domitian*. *Pliny* the Second owns it openly in his *Panegyrick* to *Trajan* the Emperor, " We took pleaſure in daſhing thoſe " proud Looks againſt the Ground, in piercing him " with our Swords, in mangling him with Axes, as " if he had bled and felt pain at every ſtroke: No " Man could ſo command his paſſion of Joy, but that " he counted it a piece of Revenge to behold his " mangled Limbs, his Members torn aſunder, and " after all, his ſtern and horrid Statues thrown down " and burnt." And *afterwards*, " They cannot love " good Princes enough, that cannot hate bad ones " as they deſerve." Then amongſt other Enormities of *Domitian*, he reckons this for one, that he put to death *Epaphroditus*, that had kill'd *Nero*: " Had " we forgotten the avenging *Nero's* death? Was it " likely that he would ſuffer his Life and Actions to " be ill ſpoken of, whoſe death he revenged?" He ſeems to have thought it almoſt a Crime not to kill *Nero*, that counts it ſo great a one to puniſh him that did it. By what has been ſaid, it is evident, that the beſt of the *Romans* did not only kill Tyrants, as oft as they could, and howſoever they could; but that they thought it a commendable, and a praiſeworthy Action ſo to do, as the *Grecians* had done before them. For when they could not proceed judicially againſt a Tyrant in his life-time, being inferior to him in Strength and Power, yet after his death they did it, and condemn'd him by the *Valerian* Law. For *Valerius Publicola*, *Junius Brutus* his Colleague, when he ſaw that Tyrants, being guarded with Soldiers, could not be brought to a legal Trial, he deviſed a Law to make it lawful to kill them any way, tho uncondemn'd; and that they that did it, ſhould afterwards give an account of their ſo doing. Hence, when *Caſſius* had actually run *Caligula* through with a Sword, tho every Body elſe had done it in their

hearts, *Valerius Asiaticus*, one that had been Consul, being present at the time, cried out to the Soldiers that began to mutiny because of his death, *I wish I my self had kill'd him*. And the Senate at the same time was so far from being displeased with *Cassius* for what he had done, that they resolved to extirpate the Memory of the Emperors, and to raze the Temples that had been erected in Honour of them. When *Claudius* was presently saluted Emperor by the Soldiers, they forbad him by the Tribune of the People to take the Government upon him; but the Power of the Soldiers prevailed. The Senate declared *Nero* an Enemy, and made enquiry after him, to have punished him according to the Law of their Ancestors; which required, that he should be stript naked, and hung by the Neck upon a forked Stake, and whipt to death. Consider now, how much more mildly and moderately the *English* dealt with their Tyrant, tho many are of Opinion, that he caused the spilling of more Blood than ever *Nero* himself did. So the Senate condemn'd *Domitian* after his death; they commanded his Statues to be pull'd down and dash'd in pieces, which was all they could do. When *Commodus* was slain by his own Officers, neither the Senate, nor the People punisht the Fact, but declared him an Enemy, and enquired for his dead Corps to have made it an Example. An Act of the Senate made upon that occasion is extant in *Lampridius*: "Let "the Enemy of his Country be depriv'd of all his "Titles; let the Parricide be drawn, let him be torn "in pieces in the *Spoliary*, let the Enemy of the gods, "the Executioner of the Senate be dragg'd with a "Hook," *&c*. The same Persons in a very full Senate condemn'd *Didius Julianus* to death, and sent a Tribune to slay him in the Palace. The same Senate deposed *Maximinus*, and declared him an Enemy. Let us hear the words of the Decree of the Senate con-

cerning him, as *Capitolinus* relates it: " The Conſul " put the queſtion, Conſcript Fathers, what is your " pleaſure concerning the *Maximines? They anſwered,* " They are Enemies, they are Enemies, who ever " kills them ſhall be rewarded." Would you know now, whether the People of *Rome*, and the Provinces of the Empire obeyed the Senate, or *Maximine* the Emperor? Hear what the ſame Author ſays, The Senate wrote Letters into all the Provinces, requiring them to take care of their Common Safety and Liberty; the Letters were publickly read. And the Friends, the Deputies, the Generals, the Tribunes, the Soldiers of *Maximine*, were ſlain in all places; very few Cities were found that kept their Faith with the publick Enemy. *Herodian* relates the ſame thing. But what need we give any more Inſtances out of the *Roman* Hiſtories? Let us now ſee what manner of thing the Right of Kings was in thoſe days, in the Nations that bordered upon the Empire. *Ambiorix*, a King of the *Gauls*, confeſſes, " The Nature of his " Dominion to be ſuch, that the People have as great " Power over him, as he over them." And conſequently, as well as he judged them, he might be judged by them. *Vercingetorix*, another King in *Gaul*, was accuſed of Treaſon by his own People. Theſe things *Cæſar* relates in his Hiſtory of the *Gallick* Wars. " Neither is the Regal Power among the *Germans* " abſolute and uncontroulable; leſſer matters are " ordered and diſpoſed by the Princes; greater Affairs " by all the People. The King or Prince is more " conſiderable by the Authority of his Perſwaſions, " than by any Power that he has of commanding. " If his Opinion be not approv'd of, they declare " their diſlike of it by a general murmuring Noiſe." This is out of *Tacitus*. Nay, and you your ſelf now confeſs, that what but of late you exclaim'd againſt as an unheard of thing, has been often done, to wit,

That *no less than fifty* Scotish *Kings have been either Banished, or Imprisoned, or put to death, nay, and some of them publickly executed.* Which having come to pass in our very Island; why do you, as if it were your Office to conceal the violent deaths of Tyrants, by burying them in the dark, exclaim against it as an abominable and unheard of thing? You proceed to commend the *Jews* and *Christians* for their Religious Obedience even to Tyrants, and to heap one Lie upon another, in all which I have already confuted you. Lately you made large Encomiums on the Obedience of the *Assyrians* and *Persians*, and now you reckon up their Rebellions; and tho but of late you said they never had rebell'd at all, now you give us a great many reasons why they rebell'd so often. Then you resume the Narrative of the manner of our King's death, which you had broken off long since; that if you had not taken care sufficiently to appear ridiculous, and a Fool then, you may do it now. You said, *He was led through the Members of his own Court.* What you mean by the Members of the Court, I would gladly know. You enumerate the Calamities that the *Romans* underwent by changing their Kingdom into a Commonwealth. In which I have already shown how grossly you give your self the Lie. What was it you said when you wrote against the Jesuit? You demonstrated, That *in an* Aristocracy, *or a popular State there could be but Seditions and Tumults, whereas under a Tyrant nothing was to be looked for, but certain Ruin and Destruction:* And dare you now say, you vain corrupt Mortal, That *those Seditions were Punishments inflicted upon them for banishing their Kings?* Forsooth, because King *Charles* gave you a hundred *Jacobusses*, therefore the *Romans* shall be punished for banishing their Kings. But "they that kill'd *Julius Cæsar* did not prosper after-"wards." I confess, if I would have had any Tyrant

ſpared, it ſhould have been him. For altho he introduced a Monarchical Government into a Free State by force of Arms, yet perhaps himſelf deſerved a Kingdom beſt; and yet I conceive that none of thoſe that killed him can be ſaid to have been puniſhed for ſo doing, any more than *Caius Anthonius*, *Cicero's* Colleague, for deſtroying *Catiline*, who when he was afterward condemn'd for other Crimes, ſays *Cicero* in his Oration *pro Flacco*, Catiline's *Sepulchre was adorned with Flowers*. For they that favoured *Catiline*, then rejoyced; *They gave out then, that what* Catiline *did was juſt*, to encreaſe the Peoples hatred againſt thoſe that had cut him off. Theſe are Artifices, which wicked Men make uſe of, to deter the beſt of Men from puniſhing Tyrants, and flagitious Perſons. I might as eaſily ſay the quite contrary, and inſtance in them that have killed Tyrants, and proſpered afterwards; if any certain inference might be drawn in ſuch Caſes from the events of things. You object further, *That the* Engliſh *did not put their Hereditary King to death in like manner, as Tyrants uſe to be ſlain, but as Robbers and Traytors are executed.* In the firſt place I do not, nor can any wiſe Man underſtand what a Crown's being Hereditary ſhould contribute to a King's Crimes being unpuniſhable. What you aſcribe to the *Barbarous Cruelty* of the *Engliſh*, proceeded rather from their Clemency and Moderation, and as ſuch, deſerves Commendation; who, tho the being a Tyrant is a Crime that comprehends all ſorts of Enormities, ſuch as Robberies, Treaſons, and Rebellions againſt the whole Nation, yet were contented to inflict no greater puniſhment upon him for being ſo, than they uſed of courſe to do upon any common Highway-man, or ordinary Traytor. You hope *ſome ſuch Men as* Harmodius *and* Thraſibulus *will riſe up amongſt us, and make expiation for the King's death by ſhedding their Blood that were*

the Authors of it. But you will run mad with despair, and be detested by all good Men, and put an end to that wretched Life of yours, by hanging your self, before you see Men like *Harmodius* avenging the Blood of a Tyrant upon such as have done no other than what they did themselves. That you will come to such an end is most probable, nor can any other be expected of so great a Rogue; but the other thing is an utter impossibility. You mention thirty Tyrants that rebelled in *Gallienus's* time. And what if it fall out, that one Tyrant happens to oppose another, must therefore all they that resist Tyrants be accounted such themselves? You cannot perswade Men into such a belief, you Slave of a Knight; nor your Author *Trebellius Pollio*, the most inconsiderable of all Historians that have writ. *If any of the Emperors were declared Enemies by the Senate*, you say, *it was done by Faction, but could not have been by Law*. You put us in mind what it was that made Emperours at first: It was Faction and Violence, and to speak plainer, it was the madness of *Anthony*, that made Generals at first rebel against the Senate, and the People of *Rome*; there was no Law, no Right for their so doing. *Galba*, you say, *was punished for his Insurrection against* Nero. Tells us likewise how *Vespasian* was punished for taking up Arms against *Vitellius; There was as much difference*, you say, *betwixt* Charles *and* Nero, *as betwixt those* English *Butchers, and the* Roman *Senators of that Age*. Despicable Villain! by whom it is Scandalous to be commended, and a Praise to be evil spoken of: But a few Periods before, discoursing of this very thing, you said, That *the* Roman *Senate under the Emperors, was in effect but an Assembly of Slaves in Robes:* And here you say, *That very Senate was an Assembly of Kings;* which if it be allowed, then are Kings according to your own Opinion, but Slaves with Robes on.

Kings are bleſſed, that have ſuch a Fellow as you to write in their praiſe, than whom no Man is more a Raſcal, no Beaſt more void of Senſe, unleſs this one thing may be ſaid to be peculiar to you, that none ever brayed ſo learnedly. You make the Parliament of *England* more like to *Nero*, than to the *Roman* Senate. This itch of yours of making ſilly Similitudes, enforces me to rectify you, whether I will or no: And I will let you ſee how like King *Charles* was to *Nero*. *Nero* you ſay, *commanded his own Mother to be run through with a Sword.* But *Charles* murdered both his Prince, and his Father, and that by Poyſon. For to omit other evidences; he that would not ſuffer a Duke that was accuſed for it, to come to his Tryal, muſt needs have been guilty of it himſelf. *Nero* ſlew many thouſands of *Chriſtians;* but *Charles* ſlew many more. There were thoſe, ſays *Suetonius*, that praiſed *Nero* after he was dead, that long'd to have had him again, *That hung Garlands of Flowers upon his Sepulchre*, and gave out that they would never proſper that had been his Enemies. And ſome there are tranſported with the like Phrenſy, that wiſh for King *Charles* again, and extol him to the higheſt degree imaginable, of whom you a Knight of the Halter are a Ringleader. *The* Engliſh *Soldiers more Savage than their own Maſtiffs, erected a new and unheard-of Court of Juſtice.* Obſerve this ingenious Symbol, or Adage of *Salmaſius*, which he has now repeated ſix times over, *more Savage than their own Maſtiffs*. Take notice, Orators and School-Maſters; pluck, if you are wiſe, this Elegant Flower, which *Salmaſius* is ſo very fond of: Commit this Flouriſh of a Man, that is ſo much a Maſter of Words, to your Deſks for ſafe Cuſtody, leſt it be loſt. Has your rage made you forget words to that degree, that like a Cuckoo, you muſt needs ſay the ſame thing over and over again? What ſtrange thing has befallen you?

as ſhall make it appear, that after having perform'd whatever the neceſſary defence of the Cauſe required, if not what the dignity of it merited, I now do but comply with ſome mens expectation, if not their curioſity. *Now*, ſay you, *I ſhall alledg other and greater Arguments*. What! greater Arguments than what the Law of God and Nature afforded? Help *Lucina!* The mountain *Salmaſius* is in labour! It is not for nothing that he has got a She-Huſband. Mortals expect ſome extraordinary Birth. *If he that is, and is called a King, might be accuſed before any other Power, that Power muſt of neceſſity be greater than that of the King; and if ſo, then muſt that Power be indeed the Kingly Power, and ought to have the name of it: For a Kingly Power is thus defined; to wit, the Supreme Power in the State reſiding in a ſingle Perſon, and which has no ſuperior*. O ridiculous Birth! a Mouſe crept out of the Mountain! Help Grammarians! one of your number is in danger of periſhing! The Law of God and of Nature are ſafe; but *Salmaſius's* Dictionary is undone. What if I ſhould anſwer you thus? That words ought to give place to things; that we having taken away Kingly Government it ſelf, do not think our ſelves concerned about its name and definition; let others look to that, who are in love with Kings: We are contented with the enjoyment of our Liberty; ſuch an anſwer would be good enough for you. But to let you ſee that I deal fairly with you throughout, I will anſwer you, not only from my own, but from the opinion of very wiſe and good men, who have thought that the Name and Power of a King are very conſiſtent with a Power in the People and the Law, ſuperior to that of the King himſelf. In the firſt place *Lycurgus*, a man very eminent for wiſdm, deſigning, as *Plato* ſays, to ſecure a Kingly Government as well as it was poſſible, could find no better

expedient to preſerve it, than by making the Power of the Senate, and of the *Ephori*, that is, the Power of the People, ſuperior to it. *Theſeus*, in *Euripides*, King of *Athens*, was of the ſame opinion; for he to his great honour reſtored the People to their Liberty, and advanced the Power of the People above that of the King, and yet left the Regal Power in that City to his poſterity. Whence *Euripides* in his play called the *Suppliants*, introduces him ſpeaking on this manner: "I have advanced the People themſelves into the Throne, having freed the City from Slavery, and admitted the People to a ſhare in the Government, by giving them an equal right of Suffrage." And in another place to the Herald of *Thebes*, "In the firſt place," *ſays he*, "you begin your Speech, Friend, with a thing that is not true, in ſtiling me a Monarch; for this City is not governed by a ſingle Perſon, but is a Free State; the People reigns here." Theſe were his words, when at the ſame time he was both called, and really was King there. The Divine *Plato* likewiſe in his Eight Epiſtle, *Lycurgus*, ſays he, *introduced the Power of the Senate and of the* Ephori, *a thing very preſervative of Kingly Government, which by this means has honourably flouriſhed for ſo many Ages, becauſe the Law in effect was made King*. Now the Law cannot be King, unleſs there be ſome, who, if there ſhould be occaſion, may put the Law in execution againſt the King. A Kingly Government ſo bounded and limited, he himſelf commends to the *Sicilians:* "Let the People enjoy their Liberty under a Kingly Government; let the King himſelf be accountable; let the Law take place even againſt Kings themſelves, if they act contrary to Law." *Ariſtotle* likewiſe in the third Book of his *Politicks*, "Of all Kingdoms," *ſays he*, "that are govern'd by Laws, that of the *Lacedemonians* ſeems to be moſt truly and

"properly ſo." And he ſays, all forms of Kingly Governments are according to ſetled and eſtabliſht Laws, but one, which he calls παμβασιλεια, or *Abſolute Monarchy*, which he does not mention ever to have obtain'd in any Nation. So that *Ariſtotle* thought ſuch a Kingdom, as that of the *Lacedemonians* was, to be and deſerve the name of a Kingdom more properly than any other; and conſequently that a King, tho ſubordinate to his own People, was nevertheleſs actually a King, and properly ſo called. Now ſince ſo many and ſo great Authors aſſert that a Kingly Government both in name and thing may very well ſubſiſt even where the People, tho they do not ordinarily exerciſe the Supream Power, yet have it actually reſiding in them, and exerciſe it upon occaſion; be not you of ſo mean a Soul as to fear the downfall of Grammar, and the confuſion of the ſignification of words to that degree, as to betray the Liberty of Mankind, and the State, rather than your Gloſſary ſhould not hold water. And know for the future, that words muſt be conformable to things, not things to words. By this means you'll have more wit, and not run on *in infinitum*, which now you're afraid of. *It was to no purpoſe then for* Seneca, *you ſay, to deſcribe thoſe three forms of Government, as he has done.* Let *Seneca* do a thing to no purpoſe, ſo we enjoy our Liberty. And if I miſtake us not, we are other ſort of Men than to be enſlav'd by *Seneca's* Flowers. And yet *Seneca*, tho he ſays that the Sovereign Power in a Kingly Government reſides in a ſingle Perſon, ſays withal that *the Power is the People's*, and by them committed to the King for the welfare of the whole, not for their ruin and deſtruction; and that the People has not given him a propriety in it, but the uſe of it. *Kings at this rate*, you ſay, *do not reign by God, but by the People.* As if God did not ſo over-rule the People, that they

ſet up ſuch Kings, as it pleaſes God. Since *Juſtinian* himſelf openly acknowledges, that the *Roman* Emperours derived their Authority from that *Royal Law, whereby the People granted to them and veſted in them all their own Power and Authority*. But how oft ſhall we repeat theſe things over and over again? Then you take upon you to intermeddle with the Conſtitution of our Government, in which you are no ways concerned, who are both a Stranger and a Foreigner; but it ſhows your ſawcineſs, and want of good manners. Come then, let us hear your Solœciſms, like a buſy Coxcomb as you are. You tell us, but 'tis in falſe *Latin*, that *what thoſe Deſperadoes ſay, is only to deceive the People*. You Raſcal! was it not for this that you a Renegado Grammarian, were ſo forward to intermeddle with the Affairs of our Government, that you might introduce your Solœciſms and Barbariſms amongſt us? But ſay, How have we deceiv'd the People? *The form of Government which they have ſet up, is not Popular, but Military*. This is what that herd of Fugitives and Vagabonds hired you to write. So that I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to anſwer you, who bleat what you know nothing of, but I'll anſwer them that hired you. *Who excluded the Lords from Parliament, was it the People?* Ay it was the People; and in ſo doing they threw an intolerable Yoke of Slavery from off their necks. Thoſe very Soldiers, who you ſay did it, were not Foreigners, but our own Country-men, and a great part of the People; and they did it with the conſent, and at the deſire of almoſt all the reſt of the People, and not without the Authority of the Parliament neither. *Was it the People that cut off part of the Houſe of Commons, forcing ſome away? &c.* Yes, I ſay, it was the People. For whatever the better and ſounder part of the Senate did, in which the true power of the People reſided,

why may not the People be ſaid to have done it? What if the greater part of the Senate ſhould chuſe to be Slaves, or to expoſe the Government to ſale, ought not the leſſer number to interpoſe, and endeavour to retain their Liberty, if it be in their power? *But the Officers of the Army and their Soldiers did it.* And we are beholden to thoſe Officers for not being wanting to the State, but repelling the Tumultuary violence of the Citizens and Mechanicks of *London*, who, like that Rabble that appeared for *Clodius*, had but a little before beſet the very Parliament Houſe? Do you therefore call the right of the Parliament, to whom it properly and originally belongs to take care of the Liberty of the People both in Peace and War, a Military Power? But 'tis no wonder that thoſe Traitors that have dictated theſe paſſages to you, ſhould talk at that rate; ſo that profligate faction of *Anthony* and his adherents uſed to call the Senate of *Rome*, when they armed themſelves againſt the Enemies of their Country, The Camp of *Pompey*. And now I'm glad to underſtand that they of your party envy *Cromwell*, that moſt valiant General of our Army, for undertaking that Expedition in *Ireland*, (ſo acceptable to Almighty God) ſurrounded with a joyful crowd of his Friends, and proſecuted with the well-wiſhes of the people, and the prayers of all good men: For I queſtion not but at the news of his many Victories there, they are by this time burſt with ſpleen. I paſs by many of your impertinencies concerning the *Roman* Soldiers. What follows is moſt notoriouſly falſe: *The power of the people*, ſay you, *ceaſes where there is a King*. By what Law or Right is that? Since it is known that almoſt all Kings, of what Nations ſoever, received their Authority from the people upon certain conditions; which if the King do not perform, I wiſh you would inform us, why

that Power, which was but a truſt, ſhould not return to the people, as well from a King, as from a Conſul, or any other Magiſtrate. For when you tell us, that 'tis neceſſary for the Publick Safety, you do but trifle with us; for the ſafety of the Publick is equally concerned, whether it be from a *King*, or from a *Senate*, or from a *Triumvirate*, that the power wherewith they were entruſted, revert to the people, upon their abuſe of it; and yet you your ſelf grant that it may ſo revert from all ſorts of Magiſtrates, a King only excepted. Certainly, if no people in their right wits ever committed the Government either to a King, or other Magiſtrates, for any other purpoſe than for the common good of them all, there can be no reaſon why, to prevent the utter ruin of them all, they may not as well take it back again from a King, as from other Governors; nay, and it may with far greater eaſe be taken from one, than from many. And to inveſt any mortal creature with a power over themſelves, on any other terms than upon truſt, were extreme madneſs; nor is it credible that any people ſince the Creation of the World, who had freedom of will, were ever ſo miſerably ſilly, as either to part with the power for ever, and to all purpoſes, or to revoke it from thoſe whom they had entruſted with it, but upon moſt urgent and weighty reaſons. If diſſenſions, if Civil Wars, are occaſioned thereby, there cannot any Right accrue from thence to the King, to retain that power by force of arms, which the people challenge from him as their own. Whence it follows that what you ſay, and we do not deny, That *Governors are not lightly to be changed*, is true with reſpect to the Peoples Prudence, not the King's Right; but that therefore they ought never to be changed, upon no occaſion whatſoever, that does not follow by no means; nor have you hitherto alledged any thing, nor made appear any

Right of Kings to the contrary, but that all the people concurring, they may lawfully be depoſed, when unfit for Government; provided it may be done, as it has been often done in your own Countrey of *France*, without any Tumults or Civil Wars. Since therefore the Safety of the People, and not that of a Tyrant, is the Supreme Law; and conſequently ought to be alledged on the Peoples behalf againſt a Tyrant, and not for him againſt them: you that go about to pervert ſo ſacred and ſo glorious a Law, with your fallacies and juglings; you who would have this Supreme Law, and which of all others is moſt beneficial to Mankind, to ſerve only for the Impunity of Tyrants; let me tell you (ſince you call us *Engliſhmen* ſo often *inſpired*, and *Enthuſiaſts*, and *Prophets*) let me, I ſay, be ſo far a Prophet, as to tell you, That the Vengeance of God and Man hangs over your head for ſo horrid a Crime; altho your ſubjecting all Mankind to Tyranny, as far as in you lies, which in effect is no better than condemning them to be devoured by wild Beaſts, is in it ſelf part of its own Vengeance; and whitherſoever you fly, and wereſoever you wander, will firſt or laſt purſue you with its Furies, and overtake you, and cauſe you to rave worſe than you do at preſent. I come now to your ſecond Argument, which is not unlike the firſt: If the People may reſume their Liberty, *there would be no difference*, ſay you, *betwixt a Popular State and a Kingdom; but that in a Kingdom one man rules, and in a Popular State many*. And what if that were true; would the State have any prejudice by it? But you your ſelf tell us of other differences that would be notwithſtanding; to wit, of *Time and Succeſſion; for in popular States, the Magiſtrates are generally choſen yearly;* whereas Kings, if they behave themſelves well, are perpetual; and in moſt Kingdoms there is

a Succeſſion in the ſame Family. But let them differ from one another, or not differ, I regard not thoſe petty things: In this they agree, that when the Public Good requires it, the People may without doing injury to any, reſume that Power for the Public Safety, which they committed to another for that end and purpoſe. *But according to the Royal Law, by the* Romans *ſo called, which is mentioned in the Inſtitutes, the People of* Rome *granted all their Power and Authority to the Prince.* They did ſo by compulſion; the Emperor being willing to ratify their Tyranny by the Authority of a Law. But of this we have ſpoken before; and their own Lawyers, commenting upon this place in the Inſtitutes, confeſs as much. So that we make no queſtion but the People may revoke what they were forced to grant, and granted againſt their wills. But moſt rational it is to ſuppoſe, that the People of *Rome* transferred no other power to the Prince, than they had before granted to their own Magiſtrates; and that was a power to govern according to Law, and a revocable, not an abſurd, tyrannical power. Hence it was that the Emperors aſſumed the Conſular Dignity, and that of the Tribunes of the People; but after *Julius Cæſar*, not one of them pretended to the Dictatorſhip: In the *Circus Maximus* they uſed to adore the People, as I have ſaid already out of *Tacitus* and *Claudian*. But *as heretofore many private perſons have ſold themſelves into ſlavery, ſo a whole Nation may.* Thou Goal-bird of a Knight, thou day-ſpirit, thou everlaſting ſcandal to thy Native Countrey! The moſt deſpicable Slaves in the World ought to abhor and ſpit upon ſuch a Factor for Slavery, ſuch a publick Pander as thou art. Certainly if people had ſo enſlaved themſelves to Kings, then might Kings turn them over to other Maſters, or ſell them for Money; and yet we know that Kings cannot ſo

him. There could hardly have been devised any thing more silly: How came it to pass then, that but one of the Consuls had the bundles of Rods carried before him, and not both, if two were appointed, that each might have a Power over the other? And what if both had conspired against the Commonwealth? Would not the Case then be the very same that it would have been, if one Consul only had been appointed without a Collegue? But we know very well, that both Consuls, and all other Magistrates were bound to obey the Senate, whenever the Senate and the People saw, that the Interest of the Commonwealth so required. We have a famous instance of that in the *Decemvirs*, who tho they were invested with the Power of Consuls, and were the chief Magistrates, yet the Authority of the Senate reduced them all, tho they struggled to retain their Government. Nay, we read that some Consuls before they were out of office, have been declared Enemies, and Arms been taken up against them; for in those days no man looked upon him as a Consul, who acted as an Enemy. So War was waged against *Antony*, tho a Consul, by Authority of the Senate; in which being worsted, he would have been put to death, but that *Octavius*, affecting the Empire, sided with him to subvert the Commonwealth. Now whereas you say, *That it is a property peculiar to Kingly Majesty, that the power resides in a single person;* that's but a loose expression, like the rest of what you say, and is contradicted by your self a little after: *For the* Hebrew *Judges*, you say, *ruled as long as they lived, and there was but one of them at a time: The Scripture also calls them Kings; and yet they were accountable to the great Council.* Thus we see, That an itch of Vain-glory, in being thought to have said all that can be said, makes you hardly say any thing but contradictions. Then I ask, what kind of Government that was in

e *Roman* Empire, when ſometimes two, ſometimes ree Emperors, reign'd all at once? Do you reckon hem to have been Emperors, that is, Kings, or was t an *Ariſtocracy*, or a *Triumvirate?* Or will you deny, hat the *Roman* Empire under *Antoninus* and *Verus*, under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, under *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, was ſtill but one entire Empire? If theſe Princes were not Kings, your three Forms of Government will hardly hold; if they were, then it is not an eſſential Property of a Kingly Government, to reſide in a ſingle perſon. *If one of theſe offend*, ſay you, *then may the other refer the matter to the Senate, or the People, where he may be accuſed and condemned.* And does not the Senate and the People then judg, when the matter is ſo referred to them? So that if you will give any credit to your ſelf, there needs not one Collegue to judg another. Such a miſerable Advocate as you, if you were not ſo wretched a fellow as you are, would deſerve compaſſion; you lie every way ſo open to blows, that if one were minded for ſports-ſake to make a Paſs at any part of you, he could hardly miſs, let him aim where he would. *'Tis ridiculous*, ſay you, *to imagine, That a King will ever appoint Judges to condemn himſelf.* But I can tell you of an Emperor, that was no ridiculous perſon, but an Excellent Prince, and that was *Trajan*, who when he delivered a Dagger to a certain *Roman* Magiſtrate, as the cuſtom was, that being the badg of his Office, frequently thus admoniſhed him, "Take this Sword, "and uſe it for me, if I do as I ought; if otherwiſe, "againſt me; for Miſcarriages in the Supreme Ma-"giſtrate are leſs excuſable." This *Dion* and *Aurelius Victor* ſay of him: You ſee here, that a worthy Emperor appointed one to judg himſelf, tho he did not make him his equal. *Tiberius* perhaps might have ſaid as much out of Vanity and Hypocriſie; but 'tis almoſt a crime to imagine that ſo good and ver-

tuous a Prince as *Trajan*, did not really ſpeak as he thought, and according to what he apprehended right and juſt. How much more reaſonable was it that tho he were ſuperior to the Senate in power, and might if he would, have refuſed to yield them any obedience, yet he actually did obey them, as by virtue of his office he ought to do, and acknowledged their Right in the Government to be ſuperior to his own? For ſo *Pliny* tells us in his *Panegyrick*, " The Senate " both deſired and commanded you to be Conſul a " fourth time; you may know by the Obedience you " pay them, that this is no word of Flattery, but of " Power." And a little after, " This is the deſign " you aim at, to reſtore our loſt Liberty." And *Trajan* was not of that mind alone; the Senate thought ſo too, and were of opinion, That their Authority was indeed Supreme: For they that could command their Emperor, might judg him. So the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, when *Caſſius* Governor of *Syria* endeavoured to get the Empire from him, referred himſelf either to the Senate, or the People of *Rome*, and declared himſelf ready to lay down the Government, if they would have it ſo. Now how ſhould a man determine of the Right of Kings better, and more truly, than out of the very mouths of the beſt of Kings? Indeed every good King accounts either the Senate, or the People, not only equal, but ſuperior to himſelf by the Law of Nature. But a Tyrant being by nature inferior to all men, every one that is ſtronger than he, ought to be accounted not only his equal but ſuperior: For as heretofore nature taught men from Force and Violence to betake themſelves to Laws; ſo wherever the Laws are ſet at naught, the ſame dictate of nature muſt neceſſarily prompt us to betake our ſelves to Force again. " To be of this " opinion, *ſays* Cicero *pro Seſtio*, is a ſign of Wiſdom; " to put it in practice, argues Courage and Reſolu-

' tion; and to do both, is the effect of Vertue in its ' perfection." Let this ſtand then as a ſetled Maxim of the Law of Nature, never to be ſhaken by any Artifices of Flatterers, That the Senate, or the People, are ſuperior to Kings, be they good or bad: Which is but what you your ſelf do in effect confeſs, when you tell us, That the Authority of Kings was derived from the People. For that power which they transferred to Princes, doth yet naturally, or as I may ſay virtually reſide in themſelves notwithſtanding: for ſo natural cauſes that produce any effect by a certain eminency of operation, do always retain more of their own virtue and energy than they impart; nor do they by communicating to others, exhauſt themſelves. You ſee, the cloſer wee keep to Nature, the more evidently does the Peoples Power appear to be above that of the Prince. And this is likewiſe certain, That the People do not freely, and of choice, ſettle the Government in their King abſolutely, ſo as to give him a Propriety in it, nor by Nature can do ſo; but only for the Publick Safety and Liberty, which when the King ceaſes to take care of, then the People in effect have given him nothing at all: For Nature ſays the People gave it him to a particular end and purpoſe; which end, if neither Nature nor the People can attain, the Peoples Gift becomes no more valid, than any other void Covenant or Agreement. Theſe Reaſons prove very fully, That the People are ſuperior to the King; and ſo your *greateſt and moſt convincing Argument, That a King cannot be judged by his People, becauſe he has no Peer in his Kingdom, nor any Superior*, falls to the ground. For you take that for granted, which we by no means allow. *In a popular State*, ſay you, *the Magiſtrates being appointed by the People, may likewiſe be puniſhed for their Crimes by the People: In an Ariſtocracy the Senators may be puniſhed by their Collegues: But 'tis a*

prodigious thing to proceed criminally against a King in his own Kingdom, and make him plead for his Life. What can you conclude from hence, but they who set up Kings over them, are the most miserable and most silly People in the World? But, I pray, what's the reason why the People may not punish a King that becomes a Malefactor, as well as they may popular Magistrates and Senators in an Aristocracy? Do you think that all they who live under a Kingly Government, were so strangely in love with Slavery, as when they might be free, to chuse Vassalage, and to put themselves all and entirely under the dominion of one man, who often happens to be an ill Man, and often a Fool, so as whatever cause might be, to leave themselves no refuge in, no relief from the Laws nor the Dictates of Nature, against the Tyranny of a most outragious Master, when such a one happens? Why do they then tender Conditions to their Kings, when they first enter upon their Government, and prescribe Laws for them to govern by? Do they do this to be trampled upon the more, and be the more laughed to scorn? Can it be imagined, that a whole People would ever so vilify themselves, depart from their own interest to that degree, be so wanting to themselves, as to place all their hopes in one Man, and he very often the most vain Person of them all? To what end do they require an Oath of their Kings, not to act any thing contrary to Law? We must suppose them to do this, that (poor Creatures!) they may learn to their sorrow, That Kings only may commit Perjury with impunity. This is what your own wicked Conclusions hold forth. *If a King that is elected, promise any thing to his People upon Oath, which if he would not have sworn to, perhaps they would not have chose him, yet if he refuse to perform that promise, he falls not under the Peoples censure. Nay, tho he swear to his Subjects at his Election, That he will*

adminiſter Juſtice to them according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that if he do not, they ſhall be diſcharged of their Allegiance, and himſelf ipſo facto *ceaſe to be their King, yet if he break this Oath, 'tis God and not Man that muſt require it of him.* I have tranſcribed theſe lines, not for their Elegance, for they are barbarouſly expreſſed; nor becauſe I think there needs any anſwer to them, for they anſwer themſelves, they explode and damn themſelves by their notorious falſhood and loathſomneſs: but I did it to recommend you to Kings for your great Merits; that among ſo many places as there are at Court, they may put you into ſome Preferment or Office that may be fit for you. Some are Princes Secretaries, ſome their Cupbearers, ſome Maſters of the Revels; I think you had beſt be Maſter of the Perjuries to ſome of them. You ſhan't be Maſter of the Ceremonies, you are too much a Clown for that; but their Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs ſhall be under your care. But that Men may ſee that you are both a Fool and a Knave to the higheſt degree, let us conſider theſe laſt aſſertions of yours a little more narrowly; *A King*, ſay you, *tho he ſwear to his Subjects at his Election that he will govern according to Law*, and that if he do not, *they ſhall be diſcharged of their Allegiance, and he himſelf* ipſo facto *ceaſe to be their King;* yet can he not be depoſed or puniſhed by them. Why not a King, I pray, as well as popular Magiſtrates? becauſe in a popular State, the People do not transfer all their Power to the Magiſtrates. And do they in the Caſe that you have put, veſt it all in the King, when they place him in the Government upon thoſe terms expreſſly, to hold it no longer than he uſes it well? Therefore it is evident, that a King ſworn to obſerve the Laws, if he tranſgreſs them, may be puniſhed and depoſed, as well as popular Magiſtrates. So that you can make no more uſe of that invincible Argument

of the Peoples transferring all their Right and Power to the Prince; you your ſelf have battered it down with your own Engines. Hear now another *moſt powerful and invincible Argument of his*, why Subjects cannot judg their Kings, *becauſe he is bound by no Law, being himſelf the ſole Lawgiver*. Which having been proved already to be moſt falſe, this great reaſon comes to nothing, as well as the former. But the reaſon why Princes have but ſeldom been proceeded againſt for perſonal and private Crimes, as Whoredom, and Adultery, and the like, is not becauſe they could not juſtly be puniſhed even for ſuch, but leſt the People ſhould receive more prejudice through diſturbances that might be occaſioned by the King's death, and the change of Affairs, than they would be profited by the puniſhment of one Man or two. But when they begin to be univerſally injurious and inſufferable, it has always been the Opinion of all Nations, that then, being Tyrants, it is lawful to put them to death any how, condemn'd or uncondemn'd. Hence *Cicero* in his Second *Philippick*, ſays thus of thoſe that kill'd *Cæſar*, " They were the firſt that " ran through with their Swords, not a Man who " affected to be King, but who was actually ſetled " in the Government; which, as it was a worthy and " godlike Action, ſo it's ſet before us for our imita- " tion." How unlike are you to him! *Murder, Adultery, Injuries, are not regal and publick, but private and perſonal Crimes*. Well ſaid Paraſite! you have obliged all Pimps and Profligates in Courts by this Expreſſion. How ingeniouſly do you act, both the Paraſite, and the Pimp, with the ſame breath? *A King that is an Adulterer, or a Murderer, may yet govern well, and conſequently ought not to be put to death, becauſe together with his Life he muſt loſe his Kingdom; and it was never yet allowed by God's Laws, or Man's, that for one and the ſame Crime, a Man was*

to be puniſhed twice. Infamous foul-mouth Wretch! By the ſame reaſon the Magiſtrates in a popular State, or in an *Ariſtocracy*, ought never to be put to death, for fear of double Puniſhment; no Judg, no Senator muſt die, for they muſt loſe their Magiſtracy too, as well as their Lives. As you have endeavoured to take all Power out of the Peoples hands, and veſt it in the King, ſo you would all Majeſty too: A delegated tranſlatitious Majeſty we allow, but that Majeſty does chiefly and primarily reſide in him, you can no more prove, than you can, that Power and Authority does. *A King*, you ſay, *cannot commit Treaſon againſt his People, but a People may againſt their King.* And yet a King is what he is for the People only, not the People for him. Hence I infer, that the whole Body of the People, or the greater part of them muſt needs have greater Power than the King. This you deny, and begin to caſt up accounts. *He is of greater Power than any one, than any two, than any three, than any ten, than any hundred, than any thouſand, than any ten thouſand;* be it ſo, *He is of more Power than half the People.* I will not deny that neither; *Add now half of the other half, will he not have more Power than all thoſe?* Not at all. Go on, why do you take away the Board? Do you not underſtand Progreſſion in Arithmetick? He begins to reckon after another manner. *Has not the King, and the Nobility together, more Power?* No, Mr. *Changeling*, I deny that too. If by the Nobility, whom you ſtile *Optimates*, you mean the Peers only; for it may happen, that amongſt the whole number of them, there may not be one Man deſerving that Appellation; for it often falls out, that there are better and wiſer Men than they amongſt the Commons, whom in conjunction with the greater, or the better part of the People, I ſhould not ſcruple to call by the Name of, and take them for all the People. *But if the King*

is not ſuperiour in Power to all the People together, he is then a King but of ſingle Perſons, he is not the King of the whole Body of the People. You ſay well, no more he is, unleſs they are content he ſhould be ſo. Now, ballance your Accounts, and you will find that by miſcaſting, you have loſt your Principal. *The* Engliſh *ſay, that the Right of Majeſty originally and principally reſides in the People; which Principle would introduce a Confuſion of all States.* What, of an *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy?* But let that paſs. What if it ſhould overthrow a *Gynæcocracy* too? (*i. e.* a Government of one or more Women) under which State or Form of Government, they ſay, you are in danger of being beaten at home; would not the *Engliſh* do you a kindneſs in that, you ſheepiſh Fellow, you? But there's no hope of that. For 'tis moſt juſtly ſo ordered, ſince you would ſubject all Mankind to Tyranny abroad, that you your ſelf ſhould live in a ſcandalous moſt unmanlike Slavery at home. *We muſt tell you,* you ſay, *what we mean by the word People.* There are a great many other things, which you ſtand more in need of being told: For of things that more immediately concern you, you ſeem altogether ignorant, and never to have learnt any thing but Words and Letters, nor to be capable of any thing elſe. But this you think you know, that by the word People, we mean the Common People only, excluſive of the Nobility, becauſe *we have put down the Houſe of Lords.* And yet that very thing ſhows, that under the word People, we comprehend all our Natives, of what Order and Degree ſoever; in that we have ſetled one Supreme Senate only, in which the Nobility alſo, as a part of the People (not in their own Right, as they did before; but repreſenting thoſe Burroughs or Counties, for which they may be choſe) may give their Votes. Then you inveigh againſt the Common People, as being *blind and brutiſh, ignorant of the art of govern-*

ing; you ſay there's *nothing more empty, more vain, more inconſtant, more uncertain than they.* All which is very true of your ſelf, and it's true likewiſe of the Rabble, but not of the middle ſort, amongſt whom the moſt prudent Men, and moſt ſkilful in Affairs are generally found; others are moſt commonly diverted either by Luxury and Plenty, or by Want and Poverty, from Vertue, and the ſtudy of Laws and Government. *There are many ways,* you ſay, *by which Kings come to the Crown, ſo as not to be beholden to the People at all for it;* and eſpecially, *thoſe that inherit a Kingdom.* But thoſe Nations moſt certainly be Slaves, and born to Slavery, that acknowledg any one to be their Lord and Maſter ſo abſolutely, as that they are his inheritance, and come to him by deſcent, without any conſent of their own; they deſerve not the Appellation of Subjects, nor of Freemen, nor can they be juſtly reputed ſuch; nor are they to be accounted as a Civil Society, but muſt be looked on as the Poſſeſſions and Eſtate of their Lord, and his Family: For I ſee no difference as to the Right of Ownership betwixt them, and Slaves, or Beaſts. Secondly, *They that come to the Crown by Conqueſt, cannot acknowledg themſelves to have receiv'd from the People the Power they uſurp.* We are not now diſcourſing of a Conqueror, but of a conquered King; what a Conqueror may lawfully do, we'll diſcourſe elſewhere; do you keep to your Subject. But whereas you aſcribe to Kings that ancient Right that Maſters of Families have over their Houſholds, and take an example from thence of their Abſolute Power; I have ſhown already over and over, that there is no likeneſs at all betwixt them. And *Ariſtotle* (whom you name ſo often) if you had read him, would have taught you as much in the beginning of his Politicks, where he ſays they judg amiſs that think there is but little difference betwixt a King, and a Maſter of a

Family: *For that there is not a numerical, but a specifical difference betwixt a Kingdom and a Family.* For when Villages grew to be Towns and Cities, that Regal Domestick Right vanished by degrees, and was no more owned. Hence *Diodorus* in his first Book says, That anciently Kingdoms were transmitted not to the former Kings Sons, but to those that had best deserved of the People. And *Justin*, "Originally, "*says he*, the Government of Nations, and of Coun-"tries, was by Kings, who were exalted to that height "of Majesty, not by popular Ambition, but for their "Moderation which commended them to good Men." Whence it is manifest, that in the very beginning of Nations, that Fatherly and Hereditary Government gave way to Vertue, and the Peoples Right: Which is the most natural reason and cause, and was the true rise of Kingly Government. For at first, Men entred into Societies, not that any one might insult over all the rest, but that in case any should injure other, there might be Laws and Judges to protect them from wrong, or at least to punish the wrong doers. When Men were at first dispers'd and scattered asunder, some wise and eloquent Man perswaded them to enter into Civil Societies; *that he himself*, say you, *might exercise Dominion over them when so united.* Perhaps you meant this of *Nimrod*, who is said to have been the first Tyrant. Or else it proceeds from your own malice only, and certainly it cannot have been true of those great and generous spirited Men, but is a Fiction of your own, not warranted by any Authority that I ever heard of. For all ancient Writers tell us, that those first Instituters of Communities of Men, had a regard to the good and safety of Mankind only, and not to any private advantages of their own, or to make themselves great or powerful. One thing I cannot pass by, which I suppose you intended for an

Emblem, to ſet off the reſt of this Chapter: *If a Conſul*, ſay you, *had been to be accuſed before his Magiſtracy expired, there muſt have been a Dictator created for that purpoſe*; tho you had ſaid before, *that for that very reaſon there were two of them.* Juſt ſo your Poſitions always agree with one another, and almoſt every Page declares how weak and frivolous whatever you ſay or write upon any Subject, is. *Under the ancient Engliſh Saxon Kings*, you ſay, *the People were never called to Parliaments.* If any of our own Countrymen had aſſerted ſuch a thing, I could eaſily have convinced him that he was in an error. But I am not ſo much concerned at your miſtaking our Affairs, becauſe y'are a Foreigner. This in effect is all you ſay of the Right of Kings in general. Many other things I omit, for you uſe many Digreſſions, and put things down that either have no ground at all, or are nothing to the purpoſe, and my deſign is not to vie with you in Impertinence.

CHAP. VIII.

IF you had publiſhed your own opinion, *Salmaſius*, concerning the Right of Kings in general, without affronting any Perſons in particular, notwithſtanding this alteration of Affairs in *England*, as long as you did but uſe your own liberty in writing what your ſelf thought fit, no *Engliſh* Man could have had any cauſe to have been diſpleaſed with you, nor would you have made good the opinion you mantain ever a whit the leſs. For if it be a poſitive Command both of *Moſes* and of Chriſt himſelf, *That all Men whatſoever, whether* Spaniards, French, Italians, Germans, Engliſh *or* Scotch, *ſhould be ſubject to their Princes, be they good or bad*, which you aſſerted, *Pag.*

127. to what purpoſe was it for you, who are a Foreigner and unknown to us, to be tampering with our Laws, and to read us Lectures out of them as out of your own Papers and Miſcellanies, which, be they how they will, you have taught us already in a great many words, that they ought to give way to the Laws of God? But now it is apparent that you have undertaken the defence of this Royal Cauſe, not ſo much out of your own inclination, as partly becauſe you were hired, and that at a good round price too, conſidering how things are with him that ſet you on work; and partly, 'tis like, out of expectation of ſome greater reward hereafter, to publiſh a ſcandalous Libel againſt the *Engliſh*, who are injurious to none of their Neighbours, and meddle with their own matters only. If there were no ſuch thing as that in the caſe, is it credible that any Man ſhould be ſo impudent or ſo mad, as tho he be a ſtranger, and at a great diſtance from us, yet of his own accord to intermeddle with our Affairs, and ſide with a Party? What the Devil, is it to you what the *Engliſh* do amongſt themſelves? What would you have, Pragmatical Puppy? What would you be at? Have you no concerns of your own at home? I wiſh you had the ſame concerns that that famous *Olus*, your fellow buſy-body in the *Epigram*, had; and perhaps ſo you have; you deſerve them I'm ſure. Or did that Hotſpur your Wife, who encouraged you to write what you have done for out-law'd *Charles's* ſake, promiſe you ſome profitable Profeſſors place in *England*, and God knows what Gratifications at *Charles's* Return? But aſſure your ſelves, my Miſtreſs and my Maſter, that *England* admits neither of *Wolves*, nor Owners of *Wolves:* So that it's no wonder you ſpit ſo much Venom at our *Engliſh* Maſtiffs. It were better for you to return to thoſe Illuſtrious Titles of yours in *France;* firſt to that hunger-ſtarved Lordſhip of yours

t *St. *Lou;* and in the next place to the Sacred Coniſtory of the moſt Chriſtian King. Being a Counſellor to the Prince, you are at too great a diſtance from your own Countrey. But I ſee full well that ſhe neither deſires you, nor your Counſel; nor did it appear ſhe did, when you were there a few years ago, and began to lick a Cardinal's Trencher; ſhe's in the right, by my troth, and can very willingly ſuffer ſuch a little Fellow as you, that are but one half of a Man, to run up and down with your Miſtreſs of a Wife, and your Deſks full of Trifles and Fooleries, till you light ſome where or other upon a Stipend, large enough for a Knight of the Grammar, or an Illuſtrious Critick on Horſeback; if any Prince or State has a mind to hire a Vagabond Doctor that is to be ſold at a good round Price. But here's one that will bid for you; whether you're a Merchantable Commodity or not, and what you are worth we ſhall ſee by and by. You ſay, *The Parricides aſſert, that the Government of* England *is not meerly Kingly, but that it is a mixt Government.* Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Country-man of ours in *Edward* the Sixth's days, a good Lawyer, and a Stateſman, one whom you your ſelf will not call a Parricide, in the beginning of a Book which he wrote *of the Commonwealth of England*, aſſerts the ſame thing, and not of our Government only, but of almoſt all others in the World, and that out of *Ariſtotle;* and he ſays it is not poſſible that any Government ſhould otherwiſe ſubſiſt. But as if you thought it a crime to ſay any thing, and not unſay it again, you repeat your former thredbare Contradictions. You ſay, *There neither is nor ever was any Nation that did not underſtand by the very name of a King, a Per-*

* *St.* Lou, *in Latin*, Sanctus Lupus, *Saint* Wolf, *is the name of a place in* France, *where* Salmaſius *had ſome ſmall Eſtate, and was called ſo from St.* Lupus *a* German *Biſhop, who with St.* German *came over into* England, Anno Dom. 429.

ſon whoſe authority is inferior to God alone, and who is accountable to no other. And yet a little after you confeſs, *that the name of a King was formerly given to ſuch Powers and Magiſtrates, as had not a full and abſolute right of themſelves, but had a dependance upon the People, as the* Suffetes *among the* Carthaginians, *the* Hebrew *Judges, the Kings of the* Lacedemonians, *and of* Arragon. Are you not very conſiſtent with your ſelf? Then you reckon up five ſeveral ſorts of Monarchies out of *Ariſtotle*; in one of which only that Right obtain'd, which you ſay is common to all Kings. Concerning which I have ſaid already more than once, that neither doth *Ariſtotle* give an inſtance of any ſuch Monarchy, nor was there ever any ſuch in being; the other four he clearly demonſtrates that they were bounded by Eſtabliſht Laws, and the King's Power ſubject to thoſe Laws. The firſt of which four was that of the *Lacedemonians*, which in his opinion did of all others beſt deſerve the name of a Kingdom. The ſecond was ſuch as obtain'd among Barbarians, which was laſting, becauſe regulated by Laws, and becauſe the People willingly ſubmitted to it; whereas by the ſame Author's opinion in his third Book, what King ſo ever retains the Soveraignty againſt the People's will, is no longer to be accounted a King, but a downright Tyrant; all which is true likewiſe of his third ſort of Kings, which he calls *Æſymnetes*, who were choſen by the People, and moſt commonly for a certain time only, and for ſome particular purpoſes, ſuch as the *Roman* Dictators were. The fourth ſort he makes of ſuch as reigned in the Heroical days, upon whom for their extraordinary merits the People of their own accord conferr'd the Government, but yet bounded by Laws; nor could theſe retain the Soveraignty againſt the will of the People: nor do theſe four ſorts of Kingly Governments differ, he ſays, from

Tyranny in any thing elſe, but only in that theſe Governments are with the good liking of the People, and That againſt their will. The fifth ſort of Kingly Government, which he calls παμβασίλεια, or abſolute Monarchy, in which the Supreme Power reſides in the King's Perſon, which you pretend to be the right of all Kings, is utterly condemn'd by the Philoſopher, as neither for the good of Mankind, nor conſonant to Juſtice or Nature, unleſs ſome People ſhould be content to live under ſuch a Government, and withal confer it upon ſuch as excel all others in vertue. Theſe things any man may read in the third Book of his *Politicks*. But you, I believe, that once in your life you might appear witty and florid, pleaſed yourſelf with making a compariſon *betwixt theſe five ſorts of Kingly Government, and the five Zones of the World; betwixt the two extremes of Kingly power, there are three more temperate Species interpoſed, as there lie three Zones betwixt the Torrid and the Frigid.* Pretty Rogue! what ingenious compariſons he always makes us! May you for ever be baniſhed, whither you your ſelf condemn *an abſolute Kingdom* to be, that is, to the frigid *Zone*, which when you are there, will be doubly cold to what it was before. In the mean while we ſhall expect that new faſhioned ſphere which you deſcribe, from you our modern *Archimedes*, in which there ſhall be two extreme *Zones*, one Torrid, and the other Frigid, and three temperate ones lying betwixt. *The Kings of the* Lacedæmonians, you ſay, *might lawfully be Impriſoned, but it was not lawful to put them to death.* Why not? Becauſe the Miniſters of Juſtice, and ſome Foreign Soldiers, being ſurpriſed at the Novelty of the thing, thought it not lawful to lead *Agis* to his Execution, though condemn'd to die? And the People of *Lacedemon*, were diſpleaſed at his death, not becauſe condemn'd to

die, though a King, but becauſe he was a good man and popular, and had been circumvented by a faction of the great ones. Says *Plutarch*, "*Agis* was the "firſt King that was put to death by the *Ephori*;" in which words he does not pretend to tell us what lawfully might be done, but what actually was done. For to imagin that ſuch as may lawfully accuſe a King, and impriſon him, may not alſo lawfully put him to death, is a childiſh conceit. At laſt you betake your ſelf to give an account of the Right of *Engliſh* Kings. *There never was*, you ſay, *but one King in England.* This you ſay, becauſe you had ſaid before, that *unleſs a King be ſole in the Government, he cannot be a King.* Which if it be true, ſome of them, who I had thought had been Kings of *England*, were not really ſo; for to omit many of our *Saxon* Kings, who had either their Sons, or their Brothers Partners with them in the Government, it is known that King *Henry* II. of the *Norman* Race, reign'd together with his Son. *Let them ſhew*, ſay you, *a Preſident of any Kingdom under the Government of a ſingle Perſon, who has not an abſolute power*; *though in ſome Kingdoms more remiſs, in others more intenſe.* Do you ſhow any Power that's *abſolute*, and yet *remiſs*, you Aſs; is not that power that's abſolute, the Supreme Power of all? How can it then be both ſupreme and remiſs? Whatſoever Kings you ſhall acknowledg to be inveſted with a remiſs (or a leſs) power, thoſe I will eaſily make appear to have no abſolute power; and conſequently to be inferior to a People, free by nature, who is both its own Lawgiver, and can make the Regal Power more or leſs intenſe or remiſs; that is, greater or leſs. Whether the whole Iſland of *Britain* was anciently governed by Kings, or no, is uncertain. It's moſt likely that the form of their Government changed according to the Exigencies of the Times. Whence *Tacitus* ſays,

The Britains *anciently were under Kings; now the great Men amongſt them divide them into Parties and Factions.* When the *Romans* left them, they were about forty years without Kings; they were not always therefore under a Kingly Government, as you ſay they were. But when they were ſo, that the Kingdom was Hereditary, I poſitively deny; which that it was not, is evident both from the Series of their Kings, and their way of creating them: for the conſent of the People is aſked in expreſs words. When the King has taken the accuſtomed Oath, the Archbiſhop ſtepping to every ſide of the Stage erected for that purpoſe, aſks the People four ſeveral times in theſe words, *Do you conſent to have this Man to be your King?* Juſt as if he ſpoke to them in the *Roman* Stile, *Vultis, Jubetis hunc Regnare?* "Is it "your pleaſure, do you appoint this Man to reign?" Which would be needleſs, if the Kingdom were by the Law hereditary. But with Kings, Uſurpation paſſes very frequently for Law and Right. You go about to ground *Charles's* Right to the Crown, who was ſo often conquered himſelf, upon the Right of Conqueſt. *William*, ſirnamed the *Conqueror*, forſooth, ſubdued us. But they who are not ſtrangers to our Hiſtory, know full well, that the Strength of the *Engliſh* Nation was not ſo broken in that one Fight at *Haſtings*, but that they might eaſily have renewed the War. But they choſe rather to accept of a King, than to be under a Conqueror and a Tyrant: They ſwear therefore to *William*, to be his Liege-men, and he ſwears to them at the Altar, to carry himſelf towards them as a good King ought to do in all reſpects. When he broke his Word, and the *Engliſh* betook themſelves again to their Arms, being diffident of his Strength, he renewed his Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Ancient Laws of *England*. And therefore, if after

that he miſerably oppreſſed the *Engliſh*, (as you ſay he did) he did it not by Right of Conqueſt, but by Right of Perjury. Beſides, it is certain, that many Ages ago, the Conquerors and Conquered coaleſced into one and the ſame People: So that that Right of Conqueſt, if any ſuch ever were, muſt needs have been antiquated long ago. His own words at his death, which I give you out of a *French Manuſcript* written at *Caen*, put all out of doubt, *I appoint no Man* (ſays he) *to inherit the Kingdom of England.* By which words, both his pretended Right of Conqueſt, and the Hereditary Right, were diſclaim'd at his death, and buried together with him. I ſee now that you have gotten a place at Court, as I foretold you would; you are made the King's Chief Treaſurer and Steward of his Court-Craft: And what follows, you ſeem to write *ex Officio*, as by virtue of your Office, Magnificent Sir. *If any preceding* Kings, *being thereunto compelled by Factions of Great Men, or Seditions amongſt the Common People, have receded in ſome meaſure from their Right, that cannot prejudice the Succeſſor; but that he is at liberty to reſume it.* You ſay well; if therefore at any time our Anceſtors have through neglect loſt any thing that was their Right, why ſhould that prejudice us their Poſterity? If they would promiſe for themſelves to become Slaves, they could make no ſuch promiſe for us; who ſhall always retain the ſame Right of delivering our ſelves out of Slavery, that they had of enſlaving themſelves to any whomſoever. You wonder how it comes to paſs that a King of *Great Britain* muſt now a days be looked upon as one of the Magiſtrates of the Kingdom only; whereas in all other Kingly Governments in *Chriſtendom*, Kings are inveſted with a Free and Abſolute Authority. For the *Scots*, I remit you to *Buchanan:* For *France*, your own Native Countrey, to which

you ſeem to be a ſtranger, to *Hottoman's Franco-Gallia*, and *Girardus* a *French* Hiſtorian; for the reſt, to other Authors, of whom none that I know of, were *Independents:* Out of whom you might have learned a quite other Leſſon concerning the Right of Kings, than what you teach. Not being able to prove that a Tyrannical Power belongs to the Kings of *England* by Right of Conqueſt, you try now to do it by Right of Perjury. Kings profeſs themſelves to reign *By the Grace of God:* What if they had profeſſed themſelves to be Gods? I believe if they had, you might have eaſily been brought to become one of their Prieſts. So the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* pretended to Archbiſhop it by *Divine Providence.* Are you ſuch a Fool, as to deny the Popes being a King in the Church, that you may make the King greater than a Pope in the State? But in the Statutes of the Realm the King is called our *Lord.* You are become of a ſudden a wonderful *Nomenclator* of our Statutes: But you know not that many are called Lords and Maſters, who are not really ſo: You know not how unreaſonable a thing it is to judg of Truth and Right by Titles of Honour, not to ſay of Flattery. Make the ſame Inference, if you will, from the Parliament's being called the *King's Parliament;* for it is called the King's Bridle too, or a Bridle to the King: and therefore the King is no more Lord or Maſter of his Parliament, than a Horſe is of his Bridle. But why not the King's Parliament, ſince the *King ſummons them?* I'll tell you why; becauſe the Conſuls uſed to indict a Meeting of the Senate, yet were they not Lords over that Council. When the King therefore ſummons or calls together a Parliament, he does it by virtue and in diſcharge of that Office, which he has received from the People, that he may adviſe with them about the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, not

his own particular Affairs. Or when at any time the Parliament debated of the King's own Affairs, if any could properly be called his own, they were always the laſt things they did; and it was in their choice when to debate of them, and whether at all or no, and depended not upon the King's Pleaſure. And they whom it concerns to know this, know very well, that Parliaments anciently, whether ſummoned or not, might by Law meet twice a Year: But the Laws are called too, *The King's Laws.* Theſe are flattering Aſcriptions; a King of *England* can of himſelf make no Law: For he was not conſtituted to make Laws, but to ſee thoſe Laws kept, which the People made. And you your ſelf here confeſs, That *Parliaments meet to make Laws:* Wherefore the Law is alſo called the Law of the Land, and the Peoples Law. Whence King *Ethelſtane* in the Preface to his Laws, ſpeaking to all the People, *I have granted you every thing*, ſays he, *by your own Law*. And in the Form of the Oath, which the Kings of *England* uſed to take before they were made Kings, the People ſtipulate with them thus; *Will you grant thoſe juſt Laws, which the People ſhall chuſe?* The King anſwers, *I will.* And you are infinitely miſtaken in ſaying, That *when there is no Parliament ſitting, the King governs the whole State of the Kingdom, to all intents and purpoſes, by a Regal Power.* For he can determine nothing of any moment, with reſpect to either Peace or War; nor can he put any ſtop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Juſtice. And the Judges therefore ſwear, that they will do nothing judicially, but according to Law, though the King by Word, or Mandate, or Letters under his own Seal, ſhould command the contrary. Hence it is that the King is often ſaid in our Law to be an *Infant;* and to poſſeſs his Rights and Dignities, as a Child or a Ward does his: See the *Mir-*

ror, Cap. 4. *Sect.* 22. And hence is that common Saying amongſt us, That *the King can do no wrong:* Which you, like a Raſcal, interpret thus, *Whatever the King does, is no Injury, becauſe he is not liable to be puniſhed for it.* By this very Comment, if there were nothing elſe, the wonderful Impudence and Villany of this Fellow, diſcovers it ſelf ſufficiently. *It belongs to the Head,* you ſay, *to command, and not to the Members: The King is the Head of the Parliament.* You would not trifle thus, if you had any guts in your brains. You are miſtaken again (but there's no end of your miſtakes) in not diſtinguiſhing the King's Counſellors from the States of the Realm: For neither ought he to make choice of all of them, nor of any of theſe, which the reſt do not approve of; but for electing any Member of the Houſe of Commons, he never ſo much as pretended to it. Whom the People appointed to that Service, they were ſeverally choſen by the Votes of all the People in their reſpective Cities, Towns, and Counties. I ſpeak now of things univerſally known, and therefore I am the ſhorter. But you ſay, *'Tis falſe that the Parliament was inſtituted by the People, as the Worſhippers of Saint Independency aſſert.* Now I ſee why you took ſo much pains in endeavouring to ſubvert the Papacy; you carry another Pope in your belly, as we ſay. For what elſe ſhould you be in labour of, the Wife of a Woman, a He-Wolf, impregnated by a She-Wolf, but either a Monſter, or ſome new ſort of Papacy? You now make He-Saints, and She-Saints, at your pleaſure, as if you were a true genuine Pope. You abſolve Kings of all their ſins; and as if you had utterly vanquiſh'd and ſubdu'd your Antagoniſt the Pope, you adorn your ſelf with his ſpoils. But becauſe you have not yet profligated the Pope quite, till the ſecond and third and perhaps the fourth and fifth Part of your

Book of his Supremacy come out, which Book will nauſeate a great many Readers to death, ſooner than you'll get the better of the Pope by it; let it ſuffice you in the mean time, I beſeech you, to become ſome Antipope or other. There's another She-Saint, beſides that Independency that you deride, which you have Canoniz'd in good earneſt; and that is, the Tyranny of Kings: You ſhall therefore by my conſent be the High-Prieſt of Tyranny; and that you may have all the Pope's Titles, you ſhall be a *Servant of the Servants* not of God, but of the Court. For that Curſe pronounced upon *Canaan*, ſeems to ſtick as cloſe to you, as your Shirt. You call the People *a Beaſt*. What are you then your ſelf? For neither can that Sacred Conſiſtory, nor your Lordſhip of St. *Lou*, exempt you its Maſter from being one of the People, nay, of the Common People; nor can make you other than what you really are, a moſt loathſom Beaſt. Indeed, the Writings of the Prophets ſhadow out to us the Monarchy and Dominion of Great Kings by the Name, and under the Reſemblance of a Great Beaſt. You ſay, That *there is no mention of Parliaments held under our Kings, that reigned before* William *the Conqueror*. It is not worth while to jangle about a *French* word: The thing was always in being; and you your ſelf allow that in the *Saxon* times, *Concilia Sapientum Wittena-gemots*, are mentioned. And there are wiſe Men among the Body of the People, as well as amongſt the Nobility. But *in the Statute of* Merton *made in the twentieth year of King* Henry *the 3d, the Earls and Barons are only named.* Thus you are always impoſed upon by words, who yet have ſpent your whole Life in nothing elſe but words; for we know very well that in that age, not only the Guardians of the Cinque-Ports, and Magiſtrates of Cities, but even Tradeſmen are ſometimes called Barons;

ıd without doubt they might much more reaſon-
ɔly call every Member of Parliament, tho never ſo
ıuch a Commoner, by the Name of a Baron. For
ıat in the fifty ſecond Year of the ſame King's Reign,
he Commoners as well as the Lords were ſummon-
d, the Statute of *Marlbridge*, and moſt other Sta-
utes, declare in expreſs words; which Commoners
King *Edward the Third*, in the Preface to the Sta-
tute-Staple, calls, *Magnates Comitatum, The Great
Men of the Counties*, as you very learnedly quote it
for me; thoſe to wit, *That came out of the ſeveral
Counties, and ſerved for them*; which number of Men
conſtituted the Houſe of Commons, and neither were
Lords, nor could be. Beſides, a Book more An-
cient than thoſe Statutes, called, *Modus habendi Par-
liamenta*, i. e. *The manner of holding Parliaments*, tells
us, That the King, and the Commons may hold a
Parliament, and enact Laws, tho the Lords, the
Biſhops, are abſent; but that with the Lords, and
the Biſhops, in the abſence of the Commons, no
Parliament can be held. And there's a reaſon given
for it, *viz.* becauſe Kings held Parliaments and
Councils with their People before any Lords or
Biſhops were made; beſides, the Lords ſerve for
themſelves only, the Commons each for the County,
City, or Burrough that ſent them. And that there-
fore the Commons in Parliament repreſent the whole
Body of the Nation; in which reſpect they are more
worthy, and every way preferable to the Houſe of
Peers. *But the power of Judicature*, you ſay, *never
was inveſted in the Houſe of Commons*. Nor was the
King ever poſſeſſed of it: Remember tho, that ori-
ginally all Power proceeded, and yet does proceed
from the People. Which *Marcus Tullius* excellently
well ſhows in his Oration, *De lege Agraria, Of the
Agrarian Law*: " As all Powers, Authorities, and
" publick Adminiſtrations ought to be derived from

" the whole Body of the People; ſo thoſe of
" ought in an eſpecial manner ſo to be der
" which are ordained and appointed for the C
" mon Benefit and Intereſt of all; to which
" ployments every particular Perſon may both
" his Vote for the chuſing ſuch Perſons, as he tl
" will take moſt care of the Publick, and with
" voting and making intereſt for them, lay
" Obligations upon them, as may entitle the
" their Friendſhip, and good Offices in tim
" come." Here you ſee the true riſe and origin
Parliaments, and that it was much ancienter
the *Saxon* Chronicles. Whilſt we may dwe
ſuch a light of Truth and Wiſdom, as *Cicero's*
afforded, you labour in vain to blind us with
darkneſs of obſcurer times. By the ſaying wh
I would not be underſtood to derogate in the
from the Authority and Prudence of our Ance
who moſt certainly went further in the enacti
good Laws, than either the Ages they lived i
their own Learning or Education ſeem to have
capable of; and tho ſometimes they made Laws
were none of the beſt, yet as being conſcious to tl
ſelves of the Ignorance and Infirmity of Human
ture, they have conveyed this Doctrine down to
terity, as the foundation of all Laws, which lik
all our Lawyers admit, That if any Law, or Cu
be contrary to the Law of God, of Nature,
Reaſon, it ought to be looked upon as null and
Whence it follows, that tho it were poſſible fo
to diſcover any Statute, or other publick San
which aſcribed to the King a Tyrannical P
ſince that would be repugnant to the Will of
to Nature, and to right Reaſon, you may learn
that general and primary Law of ours, which I
juſt now quoted, that it will be null and void.
you will never be able to find that any ſuch I

of Kings has the leaſt Foundation in our Law. Since it is plain therefore, that the Power of Judicature was originally in the People themſelves, and that the People never did by any Royal Law part with it to the King, (for the Kings of *England* neither uſe to judg any Man, nor can by the Law do it, otherwiſe than according to Laws ſetled and agreed to: *Fleta, Book* 1. *Cap.* 17.) it follows, that this Power remains yet whole and entire in the People themſelves. For that it was either never committed to the Houſe of Peers, or if it were, that it may lawfully be taken from them again, you your ſelf will not deny. But, *It is in the King's Power*, you ſay, *to make a Village into a Burrough, and that into a City; and conſequently, the King does in effect create thoſe that conſtitute the Commons Houſe of Parliament.* But, I ſay, that even Towns and Burroughs are more ancient than Kings; and that the People is the People, tho they ſhould live in the open Fields. And now we are extreamly well pleaſed with your *Anglicifms*, *COUNTY COURT*, *THE TURNE*, *HUNDREDA:* you have quickly learnt to count your hundred *Jacobuſſes* in *Engliſh*.

Quis expedivit Salmaſio ſuam HUNDREDAM?
Picamque docuit verba noſtra conari?
Magiſter artis venter, & Jacobæi
Centum, exulantis viſcera marſupii Regis.
Quod ſi doloſi ſpes refulſerit nummi,
Ipſe Antichriſti modò qui Primatum Papæ
Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſufflatu,
Cantabit ultrò Cardinalitium melos.

Who taught *Salmaſius*, that *French* chatt'ring Pye,
To aim at *Engliſh*, and *HUNDREDA* cry?
The ſtarving Raſcal, fluſht with juſt a *Hundred*
Engliſh Jacobuſſes, *HUNDREDA* blunder'd.

An out-law'd King's laſt ſtock.—A hundred mor
Would make him pimp for th' Antichriſtian Whor
And in *Rome's* praiſe employ his poyſon'd Breath,
Who threatn'd once to ſtink the Pope to death.

The next thing you do is to trouble us with a lo
Diſcourſe of the Earls and the Barons, to ſhow th
the King made them all; which we readily gra
and for that reaſon they were moſt commonly at t
King's beck; and therefore we have done well to ta
care, that for the future they ſhall not be Judges
a Free People. You affirm, That *the Power of calli*
Parliaments as often as he pleaſes, and of diſſolving th
when he pleaſes, has belonged to the King time out
mind. Whether ſuch a vile, mercenary Foreigner
you, who tranſcribe what ſome Fugitives dictate
you, or the expreſs Letter of our own Laws are mo
to be credited in this matter, we ſhall enquire he
after. But ſay you, *there is another Argument, a*
an invincible one, to prove the power of the Kings
England *ſuperior to that of the Parliament; the Kin*
Power is perpetual and of courſe, whereby he admin
ters the Government ſingly without the Parliament; t
of the Parliament is extraordinary, or out of courſe, a
limited to particulars only, nor can they enact any th
ſo as to be binding in Law, without the King. Wh
does the great force of this Argument lie? in t
words of *courſe and perpetual?* Why, many infer
Magiſtrates have an *ordinary* and *perpetual* Pow
thoſe whom we call Juſtices of Peace. Have th
therefore the Supreme Power? And I have ſaid
ready, that the King's Power is committed to hi
to take care, by interpoſing his Authority, that nothi
be done contrary to Law, and that he may ſee to t
due obſervation of our Laws, not to top his o
upon us: and conſequently that the King has
Power out of his Courts; nay all the ordinary pow

is rather the Peoples, who determine all Controverſies themſelves by Juries of Twelve Men. And hence it is that when a Malefactor is aſked at his Arraignment, *How will you be tried?* he anſwers always according to Law and Cuſtom, *by God and my Country;* not by God and the King, or the King's Deputy. But the Authority of the Parliament, which indeed and in truth is the Supreme Power of the People committed to that Senate, if it may be called extraordinary, it muſt be by reaſon of its Eminence and Superiority; elſe it is known they are called *Ordines*, and therefore cannot properly be ſaid to be *extra ordinem, out of order;* and if not actually, as they ſay, yet virtually they have a perpetual Power and Authority over all Courts and ordinary Magiſtrates, and that without the King. And now it ſeems our barbarous terms grate upon your Critical Ears, forſooth! whereas, if I had leiſure, or that if it were worth my while, I could reckon up ſo many Barbariſms of yours in this one Book, as if you were to be chaſtiz'd for them as you deſerve, all the School-boys Ferula's in *Chriſtendom* would be broken upon you; nor would you receive ſo many pieces of Gold as that wretched Poet did of old, but a great many more Boxes o'th' ear. You ſay, *'Tis a Prodigy more monſtrous than all the moſt abſurd Opinions in the World put together, that the* Bedlams *ſhould make a diſtinction betwixt the King's Power and his Perſon.* I will not quote what every Author has ſaid upon this Subject; but if by the words *Perſonam Regis*, you mean what we call in *Engliſh*, the *Perſon of the King; Chryſoſtom*, who was no *Bedlam*, might have taught you, that it is no abſurd thing to make a diſtinction betwixt that and his Power; for that Father explains the Apoſtle's command of being ſubject to the Higher Powers, to be meant of the thing, the Power it ſelf, and not of the Perſons of the Magiſtrates. And why may not I ſay

that a King, who acts any thing contrary to Law, a
ſo far forth as a private Perſon, or a Tyrant, and i
in the capacity of a King inveſted with a Legal A
thority? If you do not know that there may be
one and the ſame Man more *Perſons* or *Capaci*
than one, and that thoſe Capacities may in thoug
and conception be ſevered from the man himſelf, y
are altogether ignorant both of *Latin* and Comm
Senſe. But this you ſay to abſolve Kings from
ſin and guilt; and that you may make us believe th
you are gotten into the Chair your ſelf, which y
have pull'd the Pope out of. *The King*, you ſay,
ſuppoſed not capable of committing any crime, beca
no puniſhment is conſequential upon any crime of h
Whoever therefore is not puniſht, offends not; it
not the theft, but the puniſhment that makes t
Thief. *Salmaſius* the Grammarian commits no S
lœciſms now, becauſe he is from under the Feru
when you have overthrown the Pope, let theſe,
God's ſake, be the Canons of your Pontificate, or
leaſt your Indulgences, whether you ſhall chuſe to
called the High-Prieſt St. Tyranny, or St. Slave
I paſs by the reproachful Language which towa
the latter end of the Chapter you give the State
the Commonwealth, and the Church of *Engla*
'tis common to ſuch as you are, you contemptible V
let, to rail at thoſe things moſt, that are moſt pra
worthy. But that I may not ſeem to have aſſer
any thing raſhly concerning the Right of the Ki
of *England*, or rather concerning the Peoples Ri
with reſpect to their Princes; I will now alledg
of our ancient Hiſtories a few things indeed of ma
but ſuch as will make it evident that the *Eng*
lately tried their King according to the ſetled La
of the Realm, and the Cuſtoms of their Anceſt
After the *Romans* quitted this Iſland, the *Britains*
about forty years were *ſui Juris*, and without

Kings at all. Of whom thoſe they firſt ſet up, ſome they put to death. And for that, *Gildas* reprehends them, not as you do, for killing their Kings, but for killing them uncondemned, and (to uſe his own words) *Non pro veri examinatione*, without enquiring into the matter of Fact. *Vortigern* was for his Inceſtuous Marriage with his own Daughter condemn'd (as *Nennius* informs us, the moſt ancient of all our Hiſtorians next to *Gildas*) by St. *German and a General Council of the Britains*, and his Son *Vortimer* ſet up in his ſtead. This came to paſs not long after St. *Auguſtine's* death, which is enough to diſcover how futilous you are, to ſay, as you have done, that it was a *Pope*, and *Zachary* by name, who firſt held the lawfulneſs of judging Kings. About the year of our Lord, 600, *Morcantius*, who then reign'd in *Wales*, was by *Oudeceus* Biſhop of *Landaff*, condemn'd to Exile, for the Murder of his Uncle, though he got the Sentence off by beſtowing ſome Lands upon the Church. Come we now to the *Saxons*, whoſe Laws we have, and therefore I ſhall quote none of their Precedents. Remember that the *Saxons* were of a *German* Extract, who neither inveſted their Kings with any abſolute, unlimited power, and conſulted in a Body of the more weighty affairs of Government; whence we may perceive that in the time of our *Saxon* Anceſtors *Parliaments* (the name it ſelf only excepted) had the Supreme Authority. The name they gave them, was *Councils of Wiſe-men;* and this in the Reign of *Ethelbert*, of whom *Bede* ſays, *That he made Laws in imitation of the Roman Laws*, cum concilio ſapientum; *by the advice, or in a Council of his Wiſe-men.* So *Edwyn*, King of *Northumberland;* and *Ina* King *of the Weſt-Saxons, having conſulted with their Wiſe-men, and the Elders of the People*, made new Laws. Other Laws K. *Alfred* made, *by the advice* in like manner of *his Wiſe-men;* and he ſays himſelf, *That it was by*

the consent of them all, that they were commanded to be observed. From these and many other like places, it is as clear as the Sun, that chosen Men even from amongst the Common People, were Members of the Supreme Councils, unless we must believe that no Men are wise, but the Nobility. We have likewise a very ancient Book, called the *Mirror of Justices*, in which we are told, That the *Saxons*, when they first subdued the *Britains*, and chose themselves Kings, required an Oath of them, to submit to the Judgment of the Law, as much as any of their Subjects, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 2. In the same place 'tis said, that it is but just that the King have his Peers in Parliament, to take Cognizance of wrongs done by the King, or the Queen; and that there was a Law made in King *Alfred's* time, that Parliaments should be holden twice a year at *London*, or oftner, if need were: Which Law, when through neglect it grew into disuse, was revived by two Statutes in King *Edward* the Third's time. And in another ancient Manuscript, called *Modus tenendi Parliamenta*, we read thus, "If the "King dissolve the Parliament before they have dis-"patcht the business, for which the Council was "summon'd, he is guilty of Perjury; and shall be re-"puted to have broken his Coronation Oath." For how can he be said to grant those good Laws, which the People chuse, as he is sworn to do, if he hinders the People from chusing them, either by summoning Parliaments seldomer, or by dissolving them sooner than the Publick Affairs require, or admit? And that Oath, which the Kings of *England* take at their Coronation, has always been looked upon by our Lawyers, as a most sacred Law. And what remedy can be found to obviate the great Dangers of the whole State (which is the very end of summoning Parliaments) if that Great and August Assembly may be dissolved at the pleasure many times of a silly, head-

ong King? To abſent himſelf from them, is cer-
inly leſs than to diſſolve them; and yet by our Laws,
that *Modus* lays them down, the King neither can,
or ought to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, un-
ſs he be really indiſpoſed in Health; nor then nei-
ner, till twelve of the Peers have been with him to
nſpect his Body, and give the Parliament an account
f his Indiſpoſition. Is this like the Carriage of Ser-
ants to a Maſter? On the other hand, the Houſe of
Commons, without whom there can be no Parliament
held, tho ſummoned by the King, may withdraw, and
having made a Seceſſion, expoſtulate with the King
concerning Male-adminiſtration, as the ſame Book
has it. But, which is the greateſt thing of all, amongſt
the Laws of King *Edward*, commonly called the *Con-
feſſor*, there is one very excellent, relating to the
Kingly Office; which Office, if the King do not diſ-
charge as he ought, Then, ſays the Law, *He ſhall not
retain ſo much as the Name of a King*. And leſt
theſe words ſhould not be ſufficiently underſtood, the
Example of *Chilperic* King of *France* is ſubjoyn'd,
whom the People for that Cauſe depoſed. And that
by this Law a wicked King is liable to Puniſhment,
that Sword of King *Edward*, called *Curtana*, denotes
to us, which the Earl of *Cheſter* uſed to carry in the
Solemn Proceſſion at a Coronation; *A token*, ſays *Mat-
thew Paris, that he has Authority by Law to puniſh
the King, if he will not do his Duty:* and the Sword
is hardly ever made uſe of but in Capital Puniſh-
ments. This ſame Law, together with other Laws
of that good King *Edward*, did *William* the Con-
queror ratifie in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and
in a very full Council held at *Verulam*, confirm'd it
with a moſt ſolemn Oath: And by ſo doing, he not
only extinguiſh'd his Right of Conqueſt, if he ever
had any over us, but ſubjected himſelf to be judged
according to the Tenor of this very Law. And his

Son *Henry* ſwore to the obſervance of King *Edward's* Laws, and of this amongſt the reſt; and upon thoſe only terms it was, that he was choſen King, whilſt his Elder Brother *Robert* was alive. The ſame Oath was taken by all ſucceeding Kings, before they were crowned. Hence our Ancient and Famous Lawyer *Bracton*, in his firſt Book, Chap. 8. *There is no King in the caſe*, ſays he, *where Will rules the roaſt, and Law does not take place.* And in his Third Book, Chap. 9: *A King is a King ſo long as he rules well; he becomes a Tyrant when he oppreſſes the People committed to his Charge.* And in the ſame Chapter, *The King ought to uſe the Power of Law and Right, as God's Miniſter and Vice-gerent; the Power of wrong is the Devils, and not Gods; when the King turns aſide to do Injuſtice, he is the Miniſter of the Devil.* The very ſame words almoſt another ancient Lawyer has, who was the Author of the Book, called *Fleta;* both of them remembered that truly Royal Law of King *Edward*, that Fundamental Maxim in our Law, which I have formerly mentioned, by which nothing is to be accounted a Law, that is contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reaſon; no more than a Tyrant can be ſaid to be a King, or a Miniſter of the Devil a Miniſter of God. Since therefore the Law is chiefly right Reaſon, if we are bound to obey a King, and a Miniſter of God; by the very ſame Reaſon, and the very ſame Law, we ought to reſiſt a Tyrant, and a Miniſter of the Devil. And becauſe Controverſies ariſe oftner about Names than Things, the ſame Authors tell us, that a King of *England*, tho he have not loſt the Name of a King, yet is as liable to be judged, and ought ſo to be, as any of the Common People. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 8. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *No Man ought to be greater than the King in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; but he himſelf ought to be as little as the leaſt in receiving Juſtice*, ſi peccat,

if he offend. Others read it, *ſi petat.* Since our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the Name of Tyrants, or of Kings, it muſt not be difficult to aſſign their Legal Judges. Nor will it be amiſs to conſult the ſame Authors upon that point. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 16. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *The King has his Superiors in the Government; The Law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons:* Comites (*Earls*) *are as much as to ſay, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Maſter; and therefore, if the King will be without a Bridle, that is, not govern by Law, they ought to bridle him.* That the Commons are comprehended in the word Barons, has been ſhown already; nay, and in the Books of our ancient Laws they are frequently ſaid to have been called Peers of Parliament: and eſpecially in the *Modus tenendi*, &c. *There ſhall be choſen* (ſays that Book) *out of all the Peers of the Realm, five and twenty Perſons, of whom five ſhall be Knights, five Citizens, and five Burgeſſes; and two Knights of a County, have a greater Vote in granting and rejecting than the greateſt Earl in* England. And it is but reaſonable they ſhould, for they vote for a whole County, *&c.* the Earls for themſelves only. And who can but perceive that thoſe *Patent Earls*, whom you call Earls made by *Writ* (ſince we have now none that hold their Earldoms by Tenure) are very unfit Perſons to try the King, who conferr'd their Honours upon them? Since therefore by our Law, as appears by that old Book, call'd *The Mirror*, the King has his Peers, who in Parliament have cognizance of wrongs done by the King to any of his People; and ſince it is notoriouſly known, that the meaneſt Man in the Kingdom may even in inferior Courts have the benefit of the Law againſt the King himſelf in caſe of any Injury, or Wrong ſuſtained; how much more conſonant to

easie thing to demonstrate even from the nature of the things for which Parliaments are summon'd, that the King is above the Parliament. The Parliament, you say, *is wont to be assembled upon weighty affairs, such as wherein the safety of the Kingdom and of the People, is concerned.* If therefore the King call Parliaments together, not for his own concerns, but those of the Nation, nor to settle those neither, but by their own consent, at their own discretion, what is he more than a Minister, and as it were an Agent for the People? since without their Suffrages that are chosen by the People, he cannot enact the least thing whatsoever, either with relation to himself, or any body else? Which proves likewise that 'tis the King's duty to call Parliaments whenever the People desire it; since the Peoples and not the King's concerns are to be treated of by that Assembly, and to be ordered as they see cause. For although the King's assent be required for fashion sake, which in lesser matters, that concerned the welfare of private persons only, he might refuse, and use that form, *the King will advise;* yet in those greater affairs that concern'd the publick safety, and liberty of the People in general, he had no negative voice: for it would have been against his Coronation-Oath to deny his assent in such cases, which was as binding to him as any Law could be, and against the chief Article of *Magna Charta*, Cap. 29. "We will not deny to any man, nor will we "delay to render to every man Right and Justice." Shall it not be in the King's power to deny Justice, and shall it be in his power to deny the enacting of just Laws? Could he not deny Justice to any particular person, and could he to all his People? Could he not do it in inferior Courts, and could he in the Supreme Court of all? Or, can any King be so arrogant as to pretend to know what's just and profitable better than the whole body of the People? Especially, since "he

' is created and choſen for this very end and pur-
' poſe, to do Juſtice to all," as *Bracton* ſays, *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 9. that is, to do Juſtice according to ſuch Laws as the People agree upon. Hence is what we find in our Records, 7 *H.* 4. *Rott. Parl. num.* 59. " The " King has no Prerogative that derogates from Juſtice " and Equity." And formerly when Kings have refuſed to confirm Acts of Parliament, to wit, *Magna Charta*, and ſome others, our Anceſtors have brought them to it by force of Arms. And yet our Lawyers never were of opinion that thoſe Laws were leſs valid, or leſs binding, ſince the King was forced to aſſent to no more than what he ought in Juſtice to have aſſented to voluntarily, and without conſtraint. Whilſt you go about to prove that Kings of other Nations have been as much under the power of their Senates or Counſels, as our Kings were, you do not argue us into Slavery, but them into Liberty. In which you do but that over again, that you have from the very beginning of your Diſcourſe, and which ſome ſilly Leguleians now and then do, to argue unawares againſt their own Clients. But you ſay, *We confeſs that the King wherever he be, yet is ſuppoſed ſtill to be preſent in his Parliament by virtue of his power; inſomuch that whatever is tranſacted there, is ſuppoſed to be done by the King himſelf:* and then as if you had got ſome petty bribe or ſmall morſel, and tickled with the remembrance of your Purſe of Gold, *We take*, ſay you, *what they give us;* and take a Halter then, for I'm ſure you deſerve it. But we do not give it for granted, which is the thing you thought would follow from hence, *That therefore that Court acts only by virtue of a delegated Power from the King.* For when we ay that the Regal Power, be it what it will, cannot be abſent from the Parliament, do we thereby acknowledg that Power to be Supreme? Does not the King's Authority ſeem rather to be transferred to the

Parliament, and, as being the leſſer of the two, to be compriſed in the greater? Certainly if the Parliament may reſcind the King's Acts whether he will or no, and revoke Privileges granted by him, to whomſoever they be granted: If they may ſet bounds to his Prerogative, as they ſee cauſe, if they may regulate his yearly Revenue, and the Expences of his Court, his Retinue, and generally all the concerns of his Houſhold; If they may remove his moſt intimate Friends and Counſellors, and as it were pluck them out of his boſom, and bring them to condign puniſhment: Finally, if any Subject may by Law appeal from the King to the Parliament (all which things, that they may lawfully be done, and have been frequently practiſed, both our Hiſtories and Records, and the moſt eminent of our Lawyers aſſure us) I ſuppoſe no man in his right wits will deny the Authority of the Parliament to be ſuperior to that of the King. For even in an *Interregnum* the Authority of the Parliament is in being, and (than which nothing is more common in our Hiſtories) they have often made a free Choice of a Succeſſor, without any regard to a Hereditary deſcent. In ſhort, the Parliament is the Supreme Council of the Nation, conſtituted and appointed by a moſt free People, and armed with ample power and authority, for this end and purpoſe; *viz.* to conſult together upon the moſt weighty affairs of the Kingdom; the King was created to put their Laws in execution. Which thing after the Parliament themſelves had declared in a publick Edict (for ſuch is the Juſtice of their Proceedings, that of their own accord they have been willing to give an account of their actions to other Nations) is it not prodigious, that ſuch a pitiful fellow as you are, a man of no authority, of no credit, of no figure in the world, a meer *Burgundian* ſlave, ſhould have the impudence to accuſe the Parliament of *England*,

aſſerting by a publick Inſtrument their own and their Countries Right, *of a deteſtable and horrid Impoſture?* Your Country may be aſhamed, you Raſcal, to have brought forth a little inconſiderable fellow of ſuch profligate impudence. But perhaps you have ſomewhat to tell us that may be for our good: Go on, we'll hear you. *What Laws*, ſay you, *can a Parliament enact, in which the Biſhops are not preſent?* Did you then, ye Mad-man, expel the Order of Biſhops out of the Church to introduce them into the State? O wicked Wretch, who ought to be delivered over to Satan, whom the Church ought to forbid her Communion, as being a Hypocrite, and an Atheiſt, and no Civil Society of men to acknowledg as a member, being a publick Enemy, and a Plague-ſore to the common Liberty of Mankind; who, where the Goſpel fails you, endeavour to prove out of *Ariſtotle*, *Halicarnaſſæus*, and then from ſome Popiſh Authorities of the moſt corrupt ages, that the King of *England* is the head of the Church of *England*, to the end that you may, as far as in you lies, bring in the Biſhops again, his Intimates and Table-Companions, grown ſo of late, to rob and tyrannize in the Church of God, whom God himſelf has depoſed and degraded, whoſe very Order you had heretofore aſſerted in Print that it ought to be rooted out of the world, as deſtructive of and pernicious to the Chriſtian Religion. What Apoſtate did ever ſo ſhamefully and wickedly deſert as this man has done, I do not ſay his own which indeed never was any, but the Chriſtian Doctrine which he had formerly aſſerted? *The Biſhops being put down, who under the King, and by his permiſſion held Plea of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, upon whom*, ſay you, *will that Juriſdiction devolve?* O Villain, have ſome regard at leaſt to your own Conſcience; Remember before it be too late, if at leaſt this admonition of mine come not too

late, remember that this mocking the Holy Spirit of God is an inexpiable crime, and will not be left unpunisht. Stop at last, and set bounds to your fury, lest the Wrath of God lay hold upon you suddenly, for endeavouring to deliver the flock of God, his Anointed ones that are not to be touched, to Enemies and cruel Tyrants, to be crusht and trampled on again, from whom himself by a high and stretched out arm had so lately delivered them; and from whom you your self maintained that they ought to be delivered, I know not whether for any good of theirs, or in order to the hardning of your own heart, and to further your own damnation. If the Bishops have no right to lord it over the Church, certainly much less have Kings, whatever the Laws of Men may be to the contrary. For they that know any thing of the Gospel know thus much, that the Government of the Church is altogether Divine and Spiritual, and no Civil Constitution. Whereas you say, That *in Secular Affairs, the Kings of* England *have always had the Sovereign Power:* Our Laws do abundantly declare that to be false. Our Courts of Justice are erected and suppressed, not by the King's Authority, but that of the Parliament; and yet in any of them, the meanest Subject might go to Law with the King: nor is it a rare thing for the Judges to give Judgment against him, which if the King should endeavour to obstruct by any Prohibition, Mandate, or Letters, the Judges were bound by Law, and by their Oaths not to obey him, but to reject such Inhibitions as null and void in Law. The King could not imprison any Man, or seize his Estate as forfeited; he could not punish any Man, not summoned to appear in Court, where not the King but the ordinary Judges gave Sentence; which they frequently did, as I have said, against the King. Hence our *Bracton*, lib. 3. cap. 9. *The Regal Power,*

ſays he, *is according to Law; he has no power to do any wrong, nor can the King do any thing but what the Law warrants.* Thoſe Lawyers that you have conſulted, Men that have lately fled their Countrey, may tell you another tale, and acquaint you with ſome Statutes, not very ancient neither, but made in King *Edward* 4th's, King *Henry* 6th's, and King *Edward* 6th's days; but they did not conſider, That what power ſoever thoſe Statutes gave the King, was conferred upon him by Authority of Parliament, ſo that he was beholding to them for it; and the ſame power that conferr'd it, might at pleaſure reſume it. How comes it to paſs that ſo acute a diſputant as you, ſhould ſuffer your ſelf to be impoſed upon to that degree, as to make uſe of that very Argument to prove the King's Power to be Abſolute and Supreme, than which nothing proves more clearly, That it is ſubordinate to that of the Parliament? Our Records of the greateſt Authority with us, declare, That our Kings owe all their Power, not to any Right of Inheritance, of Conqueſt, or Succeſſion, but to the People. So in the Parliament Rolls of King *Hen.* 4. *numb.* 108. we read, That the Kingly Office and Power was granted by the Commons to King *Henry* the 4*th*, and before him, to his Predeceſſor King *Richard* the 2*d.* juſt as Kings uſe to grant Commiſſioners Places, and Lieutenantſhips to their Deputies, by Edicts and Patents. Thus the Houſe of Commons ordered expreſly to be entred upon record, "That they had *granted to King* Richard "*to uſe the ſame good Liberty that the Kings of* Eng-"land *before him had uſed:*" Which becauſe that King abuſed to the ſubverſion of the Laws, and *contrary to his Oath at his Coronation*, the ſame perſons that granted him that power, took it back again, and depoſed him. The ſame Men, as appears by the ſame Record, declared in open Parliament, "That

" having confidence in the Prudence and Moderation " of King *Henry the 4th.* they will and enact, That " he enjoy the ſame Royal Authority that his An- " ceſtors enjoyed." Which if it had been any other than in the nature of a Truſt, as this was, either thoſe Houſes of Parliament were fooliſh and vain, to give what was none of their own, or thoſe Kings that were willing to receive as from them, what was already theirs, were too injurious both to themſelves and their Poſterity; neither of which is likely. *A third part of the Regal Power*, ſay you, *is converſant about the Militia; this the Kings of* England *have uſed to order and govern, without Fellow or Competitor.* This is as falſe as all the reſt that you have taken upon the credit of Fugitives: For in the firſt place, both our own Hiſtories, and thoſe of Foreigners, that have been any whit exact in the relation of our Affairs, declare, That the making of Peace and War, always did belong to the Parliament. And the Laws of St. *Edward*, which our Kings were bound to ſwear that they would maintain, make this appear beyond all exception, in the Chapter *De Heretochiis*, *viz.* " That there were certain Officers appointed in " every Province and County throughout the King- " dom, that were called *Heretochs*, in Latin *Duces*, " *Commanders of Armies*, that were to command the " Forces of the ſeveral Counties," not for the Honour of the Crown only, " but for the good of the " Realm. And they were choſen by the General " Council, and in the ſeveral Counties at publick " Aſſemblies of the Inhabitants, as Sheriffs ought " to be choſen." Whence it is evident, That the Forces of the Kingdom, and the Commanders of thoſe Forces, were anciently, and ought to be ſtill, not at the King's Command, but at the People's; and that this moſt reaſonable and juſt Law obtained in this Kingdom of ours no leſs than heretofore it

did in the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. Concerning which, it will not be amiſs to hear what *Cicero* ſays, *Philip*. 1. " All the Legions, all the " Forces of the Commonwealth, wherefoever they " are, are the People of *Rome's*; nor are thoſe Le- " gions that deſerted the Conſul *Antonius*, ſaid to " have been *Antony's*, but the Commonwealth's " Legions." This very Law of St. *Edward*, together with the reſt, did *William* the Conqueror, at the deſire and inſtance of the People, confirm by Oath, and added over and above, *cap*. 56. " That " all Cities, Boroughs, Caſtles, ſhould be ſo watched " every night, as the Sheriffs, the Aldermen, and " other Magiſtrates, ſhould think meet for the ſafety " of the Kingdom." And in the *6th* Law, " Caſtles, " Boroughs, and Cities, were firſt built for the De- " fence of the People, and therefore ought to be " maintained free and entire, by all ways and means." What then? Shall Towns and Places of Strength in times of Peace be guarded againſt Thieves and Robbers by common Councils of the ſeveral Places; and ſhall they not be defended in dangerous times of War, againſt both Domeſtick and Foreign Hoſtility, by the Common Council of the whole Nation? If this be not granted, there can be no *Freedom*, no *Integrity*, no *Reaſon* in the guarding of them; nor ſhall we obtain any of thoſe ends, for which the Law it ſelf tells us, that Towns and Fortreſſes were at firſt founded. Indeed our Anceſtors were willing to put any thing into the King's Power rather than their Arms, and the Gariſons of their Towns; conceiving that to be neither better nor worſe, than betraying their Liberty to the Fury and Exorbitancy of their Princes. Of which there are ſo very many inſtances in our Hiſtories, and thoſe ſo generally known, that it would be ſuperfluous to mention any of them here. But *the King owes protection to his Subjects;*

and how can he protect them, unless he have Men and Arms at Command? But, say I, he had all this for the good of the Kingdom, as has been said, not for the destruction of his People, and the ruin of the Kingdom: Which in King *Henry* the 3*d's* time, one *Leonard*, a Learned Man in those days, in an Assembly of Bishops, told *Rustandus*, the Pope's Nuncio and the King's Procurator, in these words; "All "Churches are the Pope's, as all Temporal things "are said to be the King's, for Defence and Pro-"tection, not his in Propriety and Ownership, as "we say; they are his to defend, not to destroy." The aforementioned Law of St. *Edward*, is to the same purpose; and what does this import more than a Trust? Does this look like absolute power? Such a kind of Power a Commander of an Army always has, that is, a delegated Power; and yet both at home and abroad he is never the less able to defend the People that chuse him. Our Parliaments would anciently have contended with our Kings about their Liberty and the Laws of St. *Edward*, to very little purpose; and 'twould have been an unequal match betwixt the Kings and them, if they had been of opinion, that the Power of the Sword belonged to him alone: for how unjust Laws soever their Kings would have imposed upon them, their *Charter*, tho never so *great*, would have been a weak Defence against Force. But say you, *What would the Parliament be the better for the Militia, since without the King's Assent they cannot raise the least Farthing from the People towards the maintaining it?* Take you no thought for that: For in the first place, you go upon a false supposition, *That Parliaments cannot impose Taxes without the King's Assent*, upon the People that send them, and whose concerns they undertake. In the next place, you are so officious an enquirer into other mens matters, cannot but have heard, That

the People of their own accord, by bringing in their Plate to be melted down, raiſed a great Sum of Money towards the carrying on of this War againſt the King. Then you mention the largeneſs of our King's Revenue: You mention over and over again *Five Hundred and Forty Thouſands:* That *thoſe of our Kings that have been eminent for their Bounty and Liberality, have uſed to give Large Boons out of their own Patrimony.* This you were glad to hear; 'twas by this Charm, that thoſe Traytors to their Countrey allured you, as *Balaam* the Prophet was enticed of old, to curſe the People of God, and exclaim againſt the Judicial Diſpenſations of his Providence. You Fool! what was that unjuſt and violent King the better for ſuch abundance of Wealth? What are you the better for it? Who have been no partaker of any part of it, that I can hear of (how great hopes ſoever you may have conceiv'd of being vaſtly enriched by it) but only of a hundred pieces of Gold, in a Purſe wrought with beads. Take that reward of thine Iniquity, *Balaam*, which thou haſt loved, and enjoy it. You go on to play the Fool; *The ſetting up of a Standard is a Prerogative that belongs to the King only.* How ſo? Why becauſe *Virgil* tells us in his *Æneis*, "That *Turnus* ſet up a Standard on the top of the Tower at *Laurentum*, for an Enſign of War." And do not you know, *Grammarian*, that every General of an Army does the ſame thing? But, ſays *Ariſtotle*, *The King muſt always be provided of a Military Power, that he may be able to defend the Laws; and therefore the King muſt be ſtronger than the whole body of the People.* This man makes Conſequences juſt as *Oenus* does ropes in Hell; which are of no uſe but to be eaten by Aſſes. For a number of Soldiers given to the King by the People, is one thing; and the ſole power of the Militia is quite another thing; the latter,

Ariſtotle does not allow that Kings ought to be Maſters of, and that in this very place which you have quoted: *He ought*, ſays he, *to have ſo many armed men about him, as to make him ſtronger than any one man, than many men got together; but he muſt not be ſtronger than all the People*, Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4. Elſe inſtead of protecting them, it would be in his power to ſubject both People and Laws to himſelf. For this is the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant: A King, by conſent of the Senate and People, has about him ſo many armed men, as to enable him to reſiſt Enemies, and ſuppreſs Seditions. A Tyrant, againſt the Will both of Senate and People, gets as great a number as he can, either of Enemies, or profligate Subjects to ſide with him againſt the Senate and the People. The Parliament therefore allowed the King, as they did whatever he had beſides, the ſetting up of a *Standard*; not to wage War againſt his own People, but to defend them againſt ſuch as the Parliament ſhould declare Enemies to the State: If he acted otherwiſe, himſelf was to be accounted an Enemy; ſince according to the very Law of St. *Edward*, or according to a more ſacred Law than that, the Law of Nature it ſelf, he loſt the name of a King, and was no longer ſuch. Whence *Cicero* in his *Philip*. "He forfeits his Command in "the Army, and Intereſt in the Government, that "employs them againſt the State." Neither could the King compel thoſe that held of him by Knight-Service, to ſerve him in any other War, than ſuch as was made by conſent of Parliament; which is evident by many Statutes. So for Cuſtoms and other Subſidies for the maintenance of the Navy; the King could not exact them without an Act of Parliament; as was reſolved about twelve years ago, by the ableſt of our Lawyers, when the King's Authority was at the height. And long before them,

Forteſcue, an Eminent Lawyer, and Chancellor to King *Henry* the *6th*, " The King of *England*," *ſays he*, " can neither alter the Laws, nor exact Subſidies " without the People's conſent;" nor can any Teſtimonies be brought from Antiquity, to prove the *Kingdom of* England to have been *merely Regal*. " The King," ſays *Bracton*, " has a Juriſdiction over " all his Subjects;" that is, in his Courts of Juſtice, where Juſtice is adminiſtred in the King's name indeed, but according to our own Laws. " All are " ſubject to the King;" that is, every particular man is; and ſo *Bracton* explains himſelf in the places that I have cited. What follows is but turning the ſame ſtone over and over again; (at which ſport I believe you are able to tire *Siſiphus* himſelf) and is ſufficiently anſwered by what has been ſaid already. For the reſt, if our Parliaments have ſometimes complimented good Kings with ſubmiſſive expreſſions, tho neither ſavouring of Flattery nor Slavery, thoſe are not to be accounted due to Tyrants, nor ought to prejudice the Peoples Right: good manners and civility do not infringe Liberty. Whereas you cite out of Sir *Edw. Coke* and others, " That the King- " dom of *England* is an *Abſolute Kingdom*;" that is ſaid with reſpect to any Foreign Prince, or the Emperor; becauſe as *Camden* ſays, " It is not under the " Patronage of the Emperor:" but both of them affirm that the Government of *England* reſides not in the King alone, but in a Body Politick. Whence *Forteſcue* in his Book *de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap.* 9. " The King of *England*," *ſays he*, " governs his Peo- " ple, not by a merely Regal, but a Political Power; " for the *Engliſh* are govern'd by Laws of their own " making." Foreign Authors were not ignorant of this: Hence *Philip de Comines*, a Grave Author, in the *Fifth Book of his Commentaries*, " Of all the King- " doms of the Earth," *ſays he*, " that I have any

" knowledg of, there is none in my opinion, wl
" the Government is more moderate, where
" King has leſs power of hurting his People, tl
" in *England*." Finally, '*Tis ridiculous*, ſay you,
them to affirm that Kingdoms were ancienter t
Kings; which is as much as if they ſhould ſay, t
there was Light before the Sun was created. I
with your good leave, Sir, we do not ſay that Ki
doms, but that the People were before Kings.
the mean time, who can be more ridiculous tl
you, who deny there was Light before the Sun l
a being? You pretend to a curioſity in other m
matters, and have forgot the very firſt things t
were taught you. *You wonder how they that h*
ſeen the King upon his Throne, at a Seſſion of Par
ment (ſub aureo et ſerico Cœlo, *under a golden*
ſilken Heaven) *under a Canopy of State, ſhould ſo m*
as make a queſtion whether the Majeſty reſided in h
or in the Parliament? They are certainly hard
belief, whom ſo lucid an Argument coming do
from Heaven, cannot convince. Which Gol
Heaven, you, like a Stoick, have ſo devoutly
ſeriouſly gaz'd upon, that you ſeem to have for
what kind of Heaven *Moſes* and *Ariſtotle* deſcribe
us; for you deny that there was any Light in *Mo*
Heaven, before the Sun; and in *Ariſtotle's* you m
three temperate Zones. How many Zones you
ſerved in that Golden and Silken Heaven of
King's, I know not; but I know you got one Z
(a Purſe) well tempered with a Hundred Gol
Stars by your Aſtronomy.

CHAP. X.

SInce this whole Controverſy, whether concern
the Right of Kings in general, or that of
King of *England* in particular, is rendred diffi

ıd intricate, rather by the obſtinacy of Parties, than y the nature of the thing it ſelf; I hope they that refer Truth before the Intereſt of a Faction, will be atisfied with what I have alledged out of the Law ıf God, the Laws of Nations, and the Municipal Laws of my own Countrey, That a King of *England* may be brought to Trial, and put to Death. As for thoſe whoſe minds are either blinded with Superſtition, or ſo dazled with the Splendor and Grandure of a Court, that Magnanimity and true Liberty do not appear ſo glorious to them, as they are in themſelves, it will be in vain to contend with them, either by Reaſon and Arguments, or Examples. But you *Salmaſius*, ſeem very abſurd, as in every other part of your Book, ſo particularly in this, who tho you rail perpetually at the *Independents*, and revile them with all the terms of Reproach imaginable, yet aſſert to the higheſt degree that can be, the *Independency* of a King, whom you defend; and will not allow him to *owe his Soveraignty to the People, but to his Deſcent*. And whereas in the beginning of your Book you complain'd that he was *put to plead for his Life*, here you complain, *That he periſh'd without being heard to ſpeak for himſelf*. But if you have a mind to look into the Hiſtory of his Trial, which is very faithfully publiſh'd in *French*, it may be you'll be of another opinion. Whereas he had liberty given him for ſome days together, to ſay what he could for himſelf, he made uſe of it not to clear himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but to diſprove the Authority of his Judges, and the Judicature that he was called before. And whenever a Criminal is either mute, or ſays nothing to the purpoſe, there is no Injuſtice in condemning him without hearing him, if his Crimes are notorious, and publickly known. If you ſay that *Charles* died as he lived, I agree with you: If you ſay that he died pioufly, holily, and at eaſe, you may

Kings, but was a perfect and entire Parliament of it ſelf, without the Temporal Lords, much more without the Biſhops. But, *The whole Houſe of Commons themſelves were not admitted to have to do with the Trial of the King*. To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their Minds and Councels; whom, tho they ſtil'd him their King, yet they had ſo often acted againſt, as an Enemy. The Parliament of *England*, and the Deputies ſent from the Parliament of *Scotland*, on the 13th of *January*, 1645, wrote to the King, in anſwer to a Letter of his, by which he deſired a deceitful Truce, and that he might treat with them at *London*; that they could not admit him into that City, till he had made Satisfaction to the State for the Civil War that he had raiſed in the three Kingdoms, and for the Deaths of ſo many of his Subjects ſlain by his Order; and till he had agreed to a true and firm Peace upon ſuch Terms as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms had offered him ſo often already, and ſhould offer him again. He on the other hand either refuſed to hear, or by ambiguous Anſwers eluded their juſt and equal Propoſals, tho moſt humbly preſented to him ſeven times over. The Parliament at laſt, after ſo many years patience, leſt the King ſhould overturn the State by his Wiles and Delays, when in Priſon, which he could not ſubdue in the Field, and leſt the vanquiſh'd Enemy pleaſed with our Diviſions, ſhould recover himſelf, and triumph unexpectedly over his Conquerors, vote that for the future they would have no regard to him, that they would ſend him no more Propoſals, nor receive any from him: After which Vote, there were found even ſome Members of Parliament, who out of the hatred they bore that invincible Army, whoſe Glory they envied, and which they would have had diſbanded, and ſent home with diſgrace, after they had deſerved ſo well of their Na-

tion, and out of a ſervile compliance with ſome Seditious Miniſters, finding their opportunity, when many, whom they knew to be otherwiſe minded than themſelves, having been ſent by the Houſe it ſelf to ſuppreſs the Preſbyterians, who began already to be turbulent, were abſent in the ſeveral Counties, with a ſtrange Levity, not to ſay Perfidiouſneſs, vote that that inveterate Enemy of the State, who had nothing of a King but the Name, without giving any Satiſfaction or Security, ſhould be brought back to *London*, and reſtored to his Dignity and Government, as if he had deſerved well of the Nation by what he had done. So that they preferr'd the King before their Religion, their Liberty, and that very celebrated Covenant of theirs. What did they do in the mean time, who were ſound themſelves, and ſaw ſuch pernicious Councils on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the Nation, and not provide for its ſafety, becauſe the Infection had ſpread it ſelf even in their own Houſe? But, who ſecluded thoſe ill affected Members? *The Engliſh Army*, you ſay: So that it was not an Army of Foreigners, but of moſt valiant, and faithful, honeſt Natives, whoſe Officers for the moſt part were Members of Parliament; and whom thoſe good ſecluded Members would have ſecluded their Country, and baniſhed into *Ireland;* while in the mean time the *Scots*, whoſe Alliance began to be doubtful, had very conſiderable Forces in four of our Northern Counties, and kept Gariſons in the beſt Towns of thoſe Parts, and had the King himſelf in Cuſtody; whilſt they likewiſe encouraged the tumultuating of thoſe of their own Faction, who did more than threaten the Parliament, both in City and Country, and through whoſe means not only a Civil, but a War with *Scotland* too ſhortly after brake out. If it has been always accounted praiſe-worthy in private Men to aſſiſt the State, and promote the publick

Good, whether by Advice or Action; our Army ſure was in no fault, who being ordered by the Parliament to come to Town, obey'd and came, and when they were come, quell'd with eaſe the Faction and Uproar of the King's Party, who ſometimes threatned the Houſe it ſelf. For things were brought to that paſs, that of neceſſity either we muſt be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their ſide moſt of the Shopkeepers and Handicrafts-men of *London*, and generally thoſe of the Miniſters, that were moſt factious. On our ſide was the Army, whoſe Fidelity, Moderation, and Courage were ſufficiently known. It being in our Power by their means to retain our Liberty, our State, our common Safety, do you think we had not been Fools to have loſt all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of Command in the Kings Army, after their Party were ſubdued, had laid down their Arms indeed againſt their Wills, but continued Enemies to us in their Hearts; and they flock'd to Town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the War. With theſe Men, tho they were the greateſt Enemies they had in the World, and thirſted after their Blood, did the *Preſbyterians*, becauſe they were not permitted to exerciſe a Civil, as well as an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over all others, hold ſecret Correſpondence, and took meaſures very unworthy of what they had formerly both ſaid and done; and they came to that Spleen at laſt, that they would rather enthral themſelves to the King again, than admit their own Brethren to ſhare in their Liberty, which they likewiſe had purchaſed at the price of their own Blood; they choſe rather to be lorded over once more by a Tyrant, polluted with the Blood of ſo many of his own Subjects, and who was enraged, and breath'd out nothing but revenge againſt thoſe of them that were left, than endure their Brethren and Friends to

be upon the ſquare with them. The *Independents*, as they are called, were the only men, that from firſt to laſt kept to their point, and knew what uſe to make of their Victory. They refus'd (and wiſely, in my opinion) to make him King again, being then an Enemy; who when he was their King, had made himſelf their Enemy: Nor were they ever the leſs averſe to a Peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new War, or a perpetual Slavery under the name of a Peace. To load our Army with the more reproaches, you begin a ſilly confuſed Narrative of our Affairs; in which tho I find many things falſe, many things frivolous, many things laid to our charge, for which we rather merit; yet I think it will be to no purpoſe for me to write a true relation, in anſwer to your falſe one. For you and I are arguing, not writing Hiſtories, and both ſides will believe our reaſons, but not our narrative; and indeed the nature of the things themſelves is ſuch, that they cannot be related as they ought to be, but in a ſet Hiſtory; ſo that I think it better, as *Saluſt* ſaid of *Carthage*, rather to ſay nothing at all, than to ſay but a little of things of this weight and importance. Nay, and I ſcorn ſo much as to mention the praiſes of great Men, and of Almighty God himſelf (who in ſo wonderful a courſe of Affairs ought to be frequently acknowledged) amongſt your Slanders and Reproaches. I'll therefore only pick out ſuch things as ſeem to have any colour of argument. You ſay, *the* Engliſh *and* Scotch *promiſed by a Solemn Covenant, to preſerve the Majeſty of the King*. But you omit upon what terms they promiſed it; to wit, if it might conſiſt with the ſafety of their Religion and their Liberty. To both which, Religion and Liberty, that King was ſo averſe to his laſt breath, and watcht all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his life was dangerous to their Religion, and the cer-

tain ruin of their Liberty. But then you fall upon the King's Judges again: *If we consider the thing aright, the conclusion of this abominable action must be imputed to the* Independents, *yet so as the* Presbyterians *may justly challenge the glory of its beginning and progress.* Hark, ye *Presbyterians*, what good has it done you? How is your Innocence and Loyalty the more cleared by your seeming so much to abhor the putting the King to death? You your selves in the opinion of this everlasting talkative Advocate of the King, your *accuser, went more than half-way towards it; you were seen acting the fourth Act and more, in this Tragedy; you may justly be charged with the King's death, since you shew'd the way to it; 'twas you and only you that laid his head upon the Block.* Wo be to you in the first place, if ever *Charles* his Posterity recover the Crown of *England;* assure your selves, you are like to be put in the Black List. But pay your Vows to God, and love your Brethren who have delivered you, who have prevented that calamity from falling upon you, who have saved you from inevitable ruin, tho against your own wills. You are accused likewise for that *some years ago you endeavoured by sundry Petitions to lessen the Kings authority, that you publisht some scandalous Expressions of the King himself in the Papers you presented him with in the name of the Parliament;* to wit, *in that Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 26th of May* 1642, *you declar'd openly in some mad Positions that breath'd nothing but Rebellion, what your thoughts were of the King's authority:* Hotham *by order of Parliament shut the gates of* Hull *against the King; you had a mind to make a trial by this first act of Rebellion how much the King would bear.* What could this Man say more if it were his design to reconcile the minds of all *English* Men to one another, and alienate them wholly from the King? for he gives them here to understand, that

if ever the King be brought back, they muſt not only expect to be puniſht for his Father's death, but for the Petitions they made long ago, and ſome Acts that paſt in full Parliament, concerning the putting down the Common-Prayer and Biſhops, and that of the Triennial Parliament, and ſeveral other things that were enacted with the greateſt conſent and applauſe of all the People that could be; all which will be look'd upon as the Seditions and mad Poſitions of the *Preſbyterians*. But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a ſudden; and what but of late, *when he conſidered it aright*, he thought was to be imputed wholly to the *Preſbyterians*, now that *he conſiders the ſame thing from firſt to laſt*, he thinks the *Independents* were the ſole Actors of it. But even now he told us, *The* Preſbyterians *took up Arms againſt the King, that by them he was beaten, taken captive, and put in priſon;* Now he ſays, *this whole Doctrine of Rebellion is the* Independents *Principle*. O! the faithfulneſs of this Man's Narrative. How conſiſtent he is with himſelf! What need is there of a Counter Narrative to this of his, that cuts its own Throat? But if any man ſhould queſtion whether you are an honeſt Man or a Knave, let him read theſe following lines of yours: *It is time to explain whence and at what time this Sect of Enemies to Kingſhip firſt began. Why truly theſe rare Puritans began in Queen* Elizabeths *time to crawl out of Hell, and diſturb not only the Church, but the State likewiſe; for they are no leſs plagues to the latter than to the former*. Now your very ſpeech bewrays you to be a right *Balaam;* for where you deſigned to ſpit out the moſt bitter Poyſon you could, there unwittingly and againſt your will you have pronounc'd a Bleſſing. For it's notoriouſly known all over *England* that if any endeavoured to follow the example of thoſe Churches, whether in *France* or *Germany*, which they accounted beſt reformed,

and to exercise the publick Worship of God in a more pure manner, which our Bishops had almost universally corrupted with their Ceremonies and Superstitions; or if any seemed either in point of Religion or Morality to be better than others, such persons were by the Favourers of Episcopacy termed *Puritans*. These are they whose Principles you say are so opposite to Kingship. Nor are they the only persons, *most of the Reformed Religion, that have not sucked in the rest of their principles, yet seem to have approved of those that strike at Kingly Government*. So that while you inveigh bitterly against the *Independents*, and endeavour to separate them from Christ's flock, with the same breath you praise them; and those Principles which almost every where you affirm to be peculiar to the *Independents*, here you confess have been approved of by most of the Reformed Religion. Nay you are arrived to that degree of impudence, impiety and apostacy, that though formerly you maintained Bishops ought to be extirpated out of the Church, root and branch, as so many pests and limbs of Antichrist, here you say the King ought to protect them, for the saving of his Coronation-Oath. You cannot show your self a more infamous Villain than you have done already, but by abjuring the Protestant Reformed Religion, to which you are a scandal. Whereas you tax us with giving a *Toleration of all Sects and Heresies*, you ought not to find fault with us for that; since the Church bears with such a profligate Wretch as you your self, such a vain Fellow, such a Lyar, such a Mercenary Slanderer, such an Apostate, one who has the impudence to affirm, That the best and most pious of Christians, and even most of those who profess the Reformed Religion, are crept out of Hell, because they differ in opinion from you. I had best pass by the Calumnies that fill up the rest of this Chapter, and those pro-

igious Tenets that you aſcribe to the *Independents*, ı render them odious; for neither do they at all oncern the Cauſe you have in hand, and they are ıch for the moſt part as deſerve to be laugh'd at, and eſpiſed, rather than receive a ſerious Anſwer.

CHAP. XI.

YOU ſeem to begin this Eleventh Chapter, *Salmaſius*, though with no modeſty, yet with ſome enſe of your weakneſs and trifling in this Diſcourſe. 'or whereas you propoſed to your ſelf to enquire in his place, by what authority ſentence was given gainſt the King? you add immediately, which nobody expected from you, that *'tis in vain to make any ıch enquiry;* to wit, *becauſe the quality of the perſons hat did it, leaves hardly any room for ſuch a queſtion.* ınd therefore as you have been found guilty of a reat deal of Impudence and Saucineſs in the underkking of this Cauſe, ſo ſince you ſeem here conſcious f your own impertinence, I ſhall give you the ſhorter ıſwer. To your queſtion then; by what authority ıe Houſe of Commons either condemn'd the King ıemſelves, or delegated that Power to others; I ıſwer, they did it by virtue of the Supreme Authoty on Earth. How they come to have the Supreme ower, you may learn by what I have ſaid already, 'hen I refuted your Impertinencies upon that Subct. If you believed your ſelf that you could ever ıy enough upon any Subject, you would not be ſo dious in repeating the ſame things ſo many times ver. And the Houſe of Commons might delegate ıeir Judicial Power by the ſame reaſon, by which ou ſay the King may delegate his, who received all e had from the People. Hence in that Solemn eague and Covenant that you object to us, the Par-

liaments of *England* and *Scotland* ſolemnly proteſt and engage to each other, to puniſh the Traitors in ſuch manner as *the Supreme, Judicial Authority in both Nations, or ſuch as ſhould have a delegate power from them,* ſhould think fit. Now you hear the Parliaments of both Nations proteſt with one voice, that they may delegate their Judicial Power, which they call the Supreme; ſo that you move a vain and frivolous Controverſy about delegating this power. *But,* ſay you, *there were added to thoſe Judges that were made choice of out of the Houſe of Commons, ſome Officers of the Army, and it never was known that Soldiers had any right to try a Subject for his life.* I'll ſilence you in a very few words: You may remember that we are not now diſcourſing of a Subject, but of an Enemy; whom if a General of an Army, after he has taken him Priſoner, reſolves to deſpatch, would he be thought to proceed otherwiſe than according to Cuſtom and Martial Law, if he himſelf with ſome of his Officers ſhould ſit upon him, and try and condemn him? An Enemy to a State made a Priſoner of War, cannot be lookt upon to be ſo much as a Member, much leſs a King in that State. This is declar'd by that Sacred Law of St. *Edward,* which denies that a bad King is a King at all, or ought to be call'd ſo. Whereas you ſay, it was *not the whole but a part of the Houſe of Commons that try'd and condemned the King,* I give you this anſwer: The number of them, who gave their Votes for putting the King to death, was far greater than is neceſſary according to the cuſtom of our Parliaments to tranſact the greateſt Affairs of the Kingdom, in the abſence of the reſt; who ſince they were abſent through their own fault (for to revolt to the common Enemy in their hearts is the worſt ſort of abſence) their abſence ought not to hinder the reſt who continued faithful to the cauſe, from preſerving the State;

ıich when it was in a tottering condition, and al-
ɔſt quite reduced to Slavery and utter Ruin, the
ıole body of the People had at firſt committed to
eir fidelity, prudence and courage. And they acted
eir parts like men; they ſet themſelves in oppo-
ion to the unruly wilfulneſs, the rage, the ſecret
:ſigns of an inveterate and exaſperated King; they
refer'd the common Liberty and Safety before their
wn; they out-did all former Parliaments, they out-
id all their Anceſtors in Conduct, Magnanimity
nd Stedineſs to their cauſe. Yet theſe very men
id a great part of the People ungratefully deſert in
he midſt of their undertaking, tho they had pro-
niſed them all fidelity, all the help and aſſiſtance
hey could afford them. Theſe were for Slavery
nd Peace with ſloth and luxury upon any terms:
)thers demanded their Liberty, nor would accept
ıf a Peace that was not ſure and honourable. What
hould the Parliament do in this caſe? ought they to
ıave defended this part of the People, that was ſound
nd continued faithful to them and their Country,
r to have ſided with thoſe that deſerted both? I
now what you will ſay they ought to have done.
ou are not *Eurylochus*, but *Elpenor*, a miſerable en-
ıanted Beaſt, a filthy Swine, accuſtomed to a ſordid
avery even under a Woman; ſo that you have not
e leaſt reliſh of true Magnanimity, nor conſequently
Liberty which is the effect of it: You would have
other men Slaves, becauſe you find in your ſelf
generous, ingenuous inclinations; you ſay no-
ing, you breath nothing but what's mean and ſer-
le. You raiſe another ſcruple, to wit, *That he was*
King of Scotland *too, whom we condemn'd*; as if he
ight therefore do what he would in *England*. But
ıt you may conclude this Chapter, which of all
ıers is the moſt weak and inſipid, at leaſt with
ne witty querk, *There are two little words*, ſay

you, *that are made up of the ſame number of l and differ only in the placing of them, but w ſe fications are wide aſunder, to wit,* Vis *and* Jus, and right.) 'Tis no great wonder that ſuch a letter'd man as you, *(Fur* a *Thief)* ſhould make a Witticiſm upon three Letters: 'Tis the g wonder (which yet you aſſert throughout your I that two things ſo directly oppoſite to one an as thoſe two are, ſhould yet meet and becom and the ſame thing in Kings. For what vic was ever acted by Kings, which you do not to be their Right? Theſe are all the paſſage I could pick out of nine long Pages, that I th deſerved an anſwer. The reſt conſiſts either petitions of things that have been anſwered than once, or ſuch as have no relation to the n in hand. So that my being more brief in this ter than in the reſt, is not to be imputed to w diligence in me, which, how irkſom ſoever yo to me, I have not ſlackned, but to your tediou pertinence, ſo void of matter and ſenſe.

CHAP. XII.

I Wiſh, *Salmaſius,* that you had left out this of your Diſcourſe concerning the King's cr which it had been more adviſable for your ſel your party to have done; for I'm afraid leſt in g you an anſwer to it, I ſhould appear too ſhar ſevere upon him, now he is dead, and hath rec his puniſhment. But ſince you choſe rather t courſe confidently and at large upon that Subjec make you ſenſible, that you could not have d more inconſiderate thing, than to reſerve the part of your cauſe to the laſt, to wit that of ri up and enquiring into the Kings Crimes; v

when I ſhall have proved them to have been true and moſt exorbitant, they will render his memory unpleaſant and odious to all good men, and imprint now in the cloſe of the Controverſy, a juſt hatred of you, who undertake his defence, on the Readers minds. Say you, *His accuſation may be divided into two parts, one is converſant about his Morals, the other taxeth him with ſuch faults as he might commit in his publick capacity.* I'll be content to paſs by in ſilence that part of his life that he ſpent in Banquetings, at Plays, and in the converſation of Women; for what can there be in Luxury and Exceſs, worth relating? And what would thoſe things have been to us, if he had been a private perſon? But ſince he would be a King, as he could not live a private Life, ſo neither could his Vices be like thoſe of a private Perſon. For in the firſt place, he did a great deal of miſchief by his Example: In the ſecond place, all that time that he ſpent upon his luſt, and in his ſports, which was a great part of his time, he ſtole from the State, the Government of which he had undertaken. Thirdly and laſtly, he ſquandered away vaſt Sums of Money, which were not his own, but the publick Revenue of the Nation, in his Domeſtick Luxury and Extravagance. So that in his private life at home he firſt began to be an ill King. But let us rather paſs over to thoſe Crimes *that he is charged with on the account of miſgovernment.* Here you lament his being condemned as a Tyrant, a Traitor, and a Murderer. That he had no wrong done him, ſhall now be made appear. But firſt let us define a Tyrant, not according to vulgar conceits, but the judgment of *Ariſtotle*, and of all Learned Men. He is a *Tyrant* who regards his own welfare and profit only, and not that of the People. So *Ariſtotle* defines one in the Tenth Book of his *Ethicks*, and elſewhere, and ſo do very many others. Whether *Charles*

regarded his own or the Peoples good, these things of many that I shall but touch upon, evince. When his Rents and other publick venues of the Crown would not defray the Exp of the Court, he laid most heavy Taxes upor People; and when they were squandred awa invented new ones; not for the benefit, honou defence of the State, but that he might hoard u lavish out in one House, the Riches and Wealt of one but of three Nations. When at this ra broke loose, and acted without any colour of to warrant his proceedings, knowing that a P ment was the only thing that could give him cl he endeavoured either wholly to lay aside the calling of Parliaments, or calling them just as and no oftner, than to serve his own turn, to them entirely at his devotion. Which Bridle he had cast off himself, he put another Bridle the People; he put Garisons of *German* Hors *Irish* Foot in many Towns and Cities, and th time of Peace. Do you think he does not beg look like a Tyrant? In which very thing, many other Particulars, which you have forr given me occasion to instance (though you sco have *Charles* compared with so cruel a Tyra *Nero*) he resembled him extremely much. For likewise often threatned to take away the Se Besides he bore extreme hard upon the Consci of good men, and compelled them to the use o remonies and Superstitious Worship, borrowed Popery, and by him re-introduced into the Ch They that would not conform, were imprison banisht. He made War upon the *Scots* twic no other cause than that. By all these ac he has surely deserved the name of a Tyrant over at least. Now I'll tell you why the word tor was put into his Indictment: When he a

his Parliament by Promiſes, by Proclamations, by Imprecations, that he had no deſign againſt the State, at that very time did he liſt *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, he ſent a private Embaſſie to the King of *Denmark* to beg aſſiſtance from him of Arms, Horſes and Men, expreſly againſt the Parliament; and was endeavouring to raiſe an Army firſt in *England*, and then in *Scotland*. To the *Engliſh* he promiſed the Plunder of the City of *London*, to the *Scots*, that the four *Northern* Counties ſhould be added to *Scotland*, if they would but help him to get rid of the Parliament, by what means ſoever. Theſe Projects not ſucceeding, he ſent over one *Dillon* a Traitor, into *Ireland* with private Inſtructions to the Natives, to fall ſuddenly upon all the *Engliſh* that inhabited there. Theſe are the moſt remarkable inſtances of his Treaſons, not taken up upon hear-ſay and idle reports, but diſcovered by Letters under his own Hand and Seal. And finally I ſuppoſe no man will deny that he was a Murderer, by whoſe order the *Iriſh* took Arms, and put to death with moſt exquiſite Torments, above a hundred thouſand *Engliſh*, who lived peaceably by them, and without any apprehenſion of danger; and who raiſed ſo great a Civil War in the other two Kingdoms. Add to all this, that at the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, the King openly took upon himſelf the guilt of the War, and clear'd the Parliament in the Confeſſion he made there, which is publickly known. Thus you have in ſhort why King *Charles* was adjudged a *Tyrant*, a *Traytor*, and a *Murderer*. *But*, ſay you, *why was he not declared ſo before, neither in that Solemn League and Covenant, nor afterwards when he was delivered to them, either by the* Preſbyterians *or the* Independents, *but on the other hand was receiv'd as a King ought to be, with all reverence?* This very thing is ſufficient to perſuade any rational man, that the Parliament entred not into

any Councils of quite depoſing the King, but as the
laſt refuge, after they had ſuffered and undergone
that poſſibly they could, and had attempted all oth
ways and means. You alone endeavour malicioul
to lay that to their charge, which to all good m
cannot but evidence their great Patience, Moder
tion, and perhaps a too long forbearing with t
King's Pride and Arrogance. But *in the month*
Auguſt, *before the King ſuffered, the Houſe of Commo*
which then bore the only ſway, and was governed by t
Independents, wrote Letters to the Scots, *in which th*
acquainted them that they never intended to alter the For
of Government that had obtain'd ſo long in England *und*
King, Lords, and Commons. You may ſee from henc
how little reaſon there is to aſcribe the depoſing of t
King, to the principles of the Independents. The
that never uſed to diſſemble and conceal their Tene
even then, when they had the ſole management
affairs, profeſs, *That they never intended to alter t*
Government. But if afterwards a thing came in
their minds, which at firſt they intended not, w
might they not take ſuch a courſe, tho before n
intended, as appear'd moſt adviſable, and moſt
the Nation's Intereſt? Eſpecially when they fou
that the King could not poſſibly be intreated or i
duced to aſſent to thoſe juſt demands that they h
made from time to time, and which were always t
ſame from firſt to laſt. He perſiſted in thoſe p
verſe ſentiments with reſpect to Religion and his o
Right, which he had all along eſpouſed, and whi
were ſo deſtructive to us; not in the leaſt alter
from the man that he was, when in Peace and W
he did us all ſo much miſchief. If he aſſented
any thing, he gave no obſcure hints that he did
againſt his will, and that whenever he ſhould co
into power again, he would look upon ſuch his aſſ
as null and void. The ſame thing his Son declar

:iting under his hand, when in thoſe days he
vay with part of the Fleet, and ſo did the King
lf by Letters to ſome of his own party in *London*.
e mean time, againſt the avowed ſenſe of the
.ment, he ſtruck up a private Peace with the
the moſt barbarous Enemies imaginable to *Eng-*
upon baſe diſhonourable terms; but whenever
vited the *Engliſh* to Treaties of Peace, at thoſe
times with all the power he had, and intereſt
uld make, he was preparing for War. In this
what ſhould they do, who were intruſted with
are of the Government? Ought they to have
ved the ſafety of us all to our moſt bitter Ad-
y? Or would you have had them left us to
go the Calamities of another ſeven years War,
) ſay worſe? God put a better mind into them,
:ferring, purſuant to that very ſolemn League
Covenant, their Religion, and Liberties, before
thoughts they once had, of not rejecting the
; for they had not gone ſo far as to vote it; all
h they ſaw at laſt (tho indeed later than they
t have done) could not poſſibly ſubſiſt, as long
: King continued King. The Parliament *ought*
nuſt of neceſſity be entirely free, and at liberty
ovide for the good of the Nation, as occaſion
res; nor ought they ſo to be wedded to their
entiments, as to ſcruple the altering their minds,
ıeir own, or the Nation's good, if God put an
rtunity into their hands of procuring it. But
:ots were of another opinion; for they, in a Letter
arles, *the King's Son, call his Father a moſt Sacred*
:e, and the putting him to death, a moſt execrable
ry. Do not you talk of the *Scots*, whom you
' not; we know them well enough, and know
me, when they called that ſame King, a moſt
able perſon, a Murderer, and Traitor; and the
ıg a Tyrant to death a *moſt ſacred* action. Then

you pick holes in the King's Charge, as not being properly penn'd; and you aſk *why we needed to call him a Traitor and a Murderer, after we had ſtiled him a Tyrant; ſince the word Tyrant, includes all the crimes that may be:* And then you explain to us grammatically and critically, what a Tyrant is. Away with thoſe Trifles, you Pedagogue, which that one definition of *Ariſtotle's*, that has lately been cited, will utterly confound; and teach ſuch a Doctor as you, That the word Tyrant (for all your concern is barely to have ſome underſtanding of words) may be applied to one, who is neither a Traitor nor a Murderer. But *the Laws of* England *do not make it Treaſon in the King to ſtir up Sedition againſt himſelf or the People.* Nor do they ſay, That the Parliament can be guilty of Treaſon by depoſing a bad King, nor that any Parliament ever was ſo, tho they have often done it; but our Laws plainly and clearly declare, that a King may violate, diminiſh, nay, and wholly loſe his Royalty. For that expreſſion in the Law of St. *Edward*, of *loſing the name of a King*, ſignifies neither more nor leſs, than being deprived of the Kingly Office and Dignity; which befel *Chilperic* King of *France*, whoſe example, for illuſtration ſake, is taken notice of in the Law it ſelf. There is not a Lawyer amongſt us that can deny, but that the higheſt Treaſon may be committed againſt the Kingdom as well as againſt the King. I appeal to *Glanvile* himſelf, whom you cite, "If any man attempt to put the King to death, or "raiſe Sedition in the Realm, it is High Treaſon." So that attempt of ſome Papiſts to blow up the Parliament-Houſe, and the Lords and Commons there with Gunpowder, was by King *James* himſelf, and both Houſes of Parliament, declared to be *High Treaſon*, not againſt the King only, but againſt the Parliament and the whole Kingdom. 'Twould be to no purpoſe to quote more of our Statutes, to prove ſo

·a Truth; which yet I could eaſily do. For the
ʒ it ſelf is ridiculous, and abſurd to imagine, That
ı Treaſon may be committed againſt the King,
ıot againſt the People, for whoſe good, nay, and
'hoſe leave, as I may ſay, the King is what he
ɔo that you babble over ſo many Statutes of ours
) purpoſe; you toil and wallow in our Ancient
-Books, to no purpoſe; for the Laws themſelves
| or fall by Authority of Parliament, who always
power to confirm or repeal them; and the Par-
:nt is the ſole Judg of what is Rebellion, what
ı Treaſon (*læſa Majeſtas*) and what not. Ma-
never was veſted to that degree in the Perſon of
Ʒing, as not to be more conſpicuous, and more
ſt in Parliament, as I have often ſhown: But
can endure to hear ſuch a ſenſeleſs Fellow, ſuch
nch Mountebank as you, declare what our Laws
And, you *Engliſh* Fugitives, ſo many Biſhops,
ors, Lawyers, who pretend that all Learning and
ıuous Literature is fled out of *England* with your
ı, was there not one of you that could defend
Ʒing's Cauſe and your own, and that in good
ı alſo, to be ſubmitted to the judgment of other
ɔns, but that this brain-ſick, beggarly *Frenchman*
be hired to undertake the Defence of a poor in-
ıt King, ſurrounded with ſo many Infant-Prieſts
)octors? This very thing I aſſure you, will be a
imputation to you amongſt Foreigners; and you
ɔe thought deſervedly to have loſt that Cauſe
'ou were ſo far from being able to defend by
: of Arms, as that you cannot ſo much as write
ıalf of it. But now I come to you again, Good-
Gooſcap, who ſcribble ſo finely; if at leaſt you
ɔme to your ſelf again; for I find you here to-
ı the latter end of your Book, in a deep ſleep,
reaming of ſome voluntary *Death* or other that's
ıg to the purpoſe. Then you *deny that 'tis*

possible for a King in his right wits to embroil his ple in Seditions, to betray his own Forces to be slaugh by Enemies, and raise Factions against himself. All w things having been done by many Kings, and ticularly by *Charles* the late King of *England,* will no longer doubt, I hope, especially being dicted to Stoicism, but that all Tyrants, as we profligate Villains, are downright mad. Hear *Horace* says, "Whoever through a senseless Stupi "or any other cause whatsoever, hath his Un "standing so blinded, as not to discern truth, "*Stoicks* account of him as of a mad-man: And "are whole Nations, such are Kings and Pri "such are all Mankind; except those very few "are Wise." So that if you would clear King *Ch* from the Imputation of acting like a Mad-man, must first vindicate his integrity and show tha never acted like an ill man. *But a King,* you *cannot commit Treason against his own Subjects Vassals.* In the first place, since we are as fre any People under Heaven, we will not be imp upon by any Barbarous Custom of any other Na whatsoever. In the second place, Suppose we been the King's Vassals; that Relation would have obliged us to endure a Tyrant to reign lord it over us. All Subjection to Magistrate our own Laws declare, is circumscribed, and fined within the bounds of *Honesty* and the *Pu Good.* Read *Leg. Hen.* 1. *Cap.* 55. The oblig betwixt a Lord and his Tenants, is mutual, and mains so long as the Lord protects his Tenant; all our Lawyers tell us) but if the Lord be too se and cruel to his Tenant, and do him some hei Injury, *The whole Relation betwixt them, and wha Obligation the Tenant is under by having done Ho to his Lord, is utterly dissolv'd and extinguish'd.* T are the very words of *Bracton* and *Fleta.* So

n ſome Caſe, the Law it ſelf warrants even a Slave, or a Vaſſal to oppoſe his Lord, and allows the Slave to kill him, if he vanquiſh him in Battle. If a City, or a whole Nation may not lawfully take this Courſe with a Tyrant, the Condition of Freemen will be worſe than that of Slaves. Then you go about to excuſe King *Charles's* ſhedding of Innocent Blood, partly by Murders committed by other Kings, and partly by ſome Inſtances of Men put to death by them lawfully. For the matter of the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, you refer the Reader to Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ; and I refer you to *Eiconoclaſtes*. The Town of *Rochel* being taken, and the Townſmen betray'd, aſſiſtance ſhown but not afforded them, you will not have laid at *Charles's* door; nor have I any thing to ſay, whether he was faulty in that buſineſs or not; he did miſchief enough at home; we need not enquire into what Miſdemeanors he was guilty of abroad. But you in the mean time would make all the Proteſtant Churches, that have at any time defended themſelves by force of Arms againſt Princes, who were profeſs'd Enemies of their Religion to have been guilty of Rebellion. Let them conſider how much it concerns them for the maintaining their Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and aſſerting their own Integrity, not to paſs by ſo great an Indignity offered them by a Perſon bred up by and amongſt themſelves. That which troubles us moſt, is, that the *Engliſh* likewiſe were betray'd in that Expedition. He, who had deſign'd long ago to convert the Government of *England* into a Tyranny, thought he could not bring it to paſs, till the Flower and Strength of the Military Power of the Nation were cut off. Another of his Crimes was, he cauſing ſome words to be ſtruck out of the uſual Coronation-Oath, before he himſelf would take it. Unworthy and abominable Action! The act was wicked in it ſelf; what ſhall be ſaid of him that un-

dertakes to juſtifie it? For, by the Eternal God, wh greater breach of Faith, and Violation of all Lav can poſſibly be imagin'd? What ought to have bee more ſacred to him, next to the Holy Sacramen themſelves, than that Oath? Which of the two d you think the more flagitious Perſon, him that o fends againſt the Law, or him that endeavours t make the Law equally guilty with himſelf? Or ra ther him who ſubverts the Law it ſelf, that he ma not ſeem to offend againſt it? For thus, that Kin violated that Oath which he ought moſt religiouſl to have ſworn to; but that he might not ſeem openl and publickly to violate it, he craftily adulterated an corrupted it; and leſt he himſelf ſhould be accounte perjur'd, he turn'd the very Oath into a Perjury What other could be expected, than that his Reig would be full of Injuſtice, Craft, and Misfortune who began it with ſo deteſtable an Injury to his Peo ple? And who durſt pervert and adulterate that Lav which he thought the only Obſtacle that ſtood in hi way, and hindred him from perverting all the re of the Laws? But *that Oath* (thus you juſtify him *lays no other Obligation upon Kings, than the Law themſelves do; and Kings pretend that they will be boun and limited by Laws, tho indeed they are altogether fro under the Power of Laws.* Is it not prodigious, tha a Man ſhould dare to expreſs himſelf ſo ſacrilegi ouſly, and ſo ſenſeleſly, as to aſſert that an Oath ſa credly ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts, may b diſpenſed with, and ſet aſide as a little inſignifica thing, without any Cauſe whatſoever! *Charles* hin ſelf refutes you, you Prodigy of Impiety: Wh thinking that Oath no light matter, choſe rather b a Subterfuge to avoid the force of it, or by a Falla to elude it, than openly to violate it; and would r ther falſify and corrupt the Oath, than manifeſt forſwear himſelf after he had taken it. But, 7

King indeed ſwears to his People, as the People do to him; but the People ſwear Fidelity to the King, not the King to them. Pretty Invention! Does not he that promiſes, and binds himſelf by an Oath to do any thing to, or for another, oblige his Fidelity to them that require the Oath of him? Of a truth, every King ſwears *Fidelity*, and *Service*, and *Obedience* to the People, with reſpect to the performance of whatever he promiſes upon Oath to do. Then you run back to *William* the Conqueror, who was forced more than once to ſwear to perform, not what he himſelf would, but what the People, and the great Men of the Realm requir'd of him. If many Kings *are Crown'd without the uſual Solemnity*, and Reign without taking any Oath, the ſame thing may be ſaid of the People; a great many of whom never took the Oath of Allegiance. If the King by not taking an Oath be at Liberty, the People are ſo too. And that part of the People that has ſworn, ſwore not to the King only, but to the Realm, and the Laws, by which the King came to his Crown; and no otherwiſe to the King, than whilſt he ſhould act according to thoſe Laws, that *the Common People*, that is, the Houſe of Commons, *ſhould chuſe*; (*Quas Vulgus elegerit.*) For it were folly to alter the Phraſe of our Law, and turn it into more genuine Latin. This Clauſe (*Quas Vulgus elegerit*) *Which the Commons ſhall chuſe, Charles* before he was crown'd, procured to be razed out. *But*, ſay you, *without the Kings aſſent the People can chuſe no Laws*; and for this you cite two Statutes, *viz. Anno* 37. *H.* 6. *Cap.* 15. and 13 *Edw.* 4. *Cap.* 8. but thoſe two Statutes are ſo far from appearing in our Statute-Books, that in the years you mention, neither of thoſe Kings enacted any Laws at all. Go now and complain, that thoſe Fugitives who pretended to furniſh you with matter out of our Statutes, impoſed upon you in it; and let other People in the

mean time ſtand aſtoniſh'd at your Impudence and Vanity, who are not aſham'd to pretend to be throughly vers'd in ſuch Books, as it is ſo evident you have never look'd into, nor ſo much as ſeen. And that Clauſe in the Coronation Oath, which ſuch a brazen-fac'd Brawler as you call fictitious, *The King's Friends*, you ſay yourſelf, *acknowledg that it may poſſibly be extant in ſome Ancient Copies, but that it grew into diſuſe, becauſe it had no convenient ſignification.* But for that very reaſon, did our Anceſtors inſert it in the Oath, that the Oath might have ſuch a ſignification as would not be for a Tyrant's conveniency. If it had really grown into diſuſe, which yet is moſt falſe, there was the greater need of reviving it; but even that would have been to no purpoſe, according to your Doctrine: *For that Cuſtom of taking an Oath, as Kings now-adays generally uſe it, is no more*, you ſay, *than a bare Ceremony.* And yet the King, when the Biſhops were to be put down, pretended that he could not do it by reaſon of that Oath. And conſequently, that reverend and ſacred Oath, as it ſerves for the Kings turn, or not, muſt be ſolemn and binding, or an empty Ceremony: Which I earneſtly entreat my Country-men to take notice of, and to conſider what manner of a King they are like to have, if he ever come back. For it would never have entred into the thoughts of this Raſcally foreign Grammarian to write a Diſcourſe of the Rights of the Crown of *England*, unleſs both *Charles Stuart* now in Baniſhment, and tainted with his Fathers Principles, and thoſe Profligate Tutors that he has along with him, had induſtriouſly ſuggeſted to him what they would have writ. They dictated to him, *That the whole Parliament were liable to be proceeded againſt as Traitors, becauſe they declar'd without the Kings Aſſent all them to be Traitors, who had taken up Arms againſt the Parliament of* England; *and that Parliaments were*

ut the King's Vaſſals: That the Oath which our Kings ake at their Coronation, is but a Ceremony: And why ot that a Vaſſal too? So that no reverence of Laws, o ſacredneſs of an Oath, will be ſufficient to protect your Lives and Fortunes, either from the Exorbitance of a furious, or the Revenge of an exaſperated Prince, who has been ſo inſtructed from his Cradle, as to think Laws, Religion, nay, and Oaths themſelves ought to be ſubject to his Will and Pleaſure. How much better is it, and more becoming your ſelves, if you deſire Riches, Liberty, Peace, and Empire, to obtain them aſſuredly by your own Vertue, Induſtry, Prudence and Valour, than to long after, and hope for them in vain under the Rule of a King? They, who are of opinion that theſe things cannot be compaſs'd but under a King, and a Lord; it cannot well be expreſſed how mean, how baſe, I do not ſay, how unworthy thoughts they have of themſelves; for in effect, what do they other than confeſs, that they themſelves are lazy, weak, ſenſeleſs, ſilly Perſons, and fram'd for Slavery both in Body and Mind? And indeed all manner of Slavery is ſcandalous and diſgraceful to a freeborn ingenious Perſon; but for you, after you have recovered your loſt Liberty, by God's Aſſiſtance, and your own Arms; after the performance of ſo many valiant Exploits, and the making ſo remarkable an Example of a moſt Potent King, to dere to return again into a Condition of Bondage and lavery, will not only be ſcandalous and diſgraceful, ut an impious and wicked thing; and equal to that f the *Iſraelites*, who for deſiring to return to the *gyptian* Slavery, were ſo ſeverely puniſh'd for that rdid, ſlaviſh Temper of mind, and ſo many of them ſtroy'd by that God, who had been their Delirer. But what ſay you now, who would perſwade to become Slaves? *The King*, ſay you, *had a rwer of pardoning ſuch as were guilty of Treaſon, and*

other Crimes; which evinces sufficiently that the King himself was under no Law. The King might indeed pardon Treason, not against the Kingdom, but against himself; and so may any body else pardon wrongs done to themselves; and he might, perhaps, pardon some other Offences, tho not always; but does it follow, because in some Cases he had the Right of saving a Malefactor's life, that therefore he must have a Right to destroy all good Men? If the King be impleaded in an inferior Court, he is not obliged to answer, but by his Attorney: Does it therefore follow, that when he is summon'd by all his Subjects to appear in Parliament, he may chuse whether he will appear or no, and refuse to answer in Person? You say, *That we endeavour to justify what we have done by the* Hollanders *Example;* and upon this occasion, fearing the loss of that Stipend with which the *Hollanders* feed such a Murrain and Pest as you are, if by reviling the *English*, you should consequentially reflect upon them that maintain you, you endeavour to demonstrate *how unlike their Actions and ours are.* The Comparison that you make betwixt them, I resolve to omit (tho many things in it are most false, and other things flattery all over, which yet you thought your self obliged to put down, to deserve your Pension.) For the *English* think they need not alledg the Examples of Foreigners for their Justification. They have Municipal Laws of their own, by which they have acted; Laws with relation to the matter in hand, the best in the World: They have the Examples of their Ancestors, great and gallant Men, for their imitation, who never gave way to the Exorbitant Power of Princes, and who have put many of them to death, when their Governmen became insupportable. They were born free, they stand in need of no other Nation, they can make what Laws they please for their own good Govern

ment. One Law in particular they have a great veneration for, and a very Ancient one it is, enacted by Nature it ſelf, That all Human Laws, all Civil Right and Government muſt have a reſpect to the ſafety and welfare of good Men, and not be ſubject to the Luſts of Princes. From hence to the end of your Book, I find nothing but Rubbiſh and Trifles, pick'd out of the former Chapters; of which you have here raiſed ſo great a heap, that I cannot imagine what other deſign you could have in it, than to preſage the ruin of your whole Fabrick. At laſt, after an infinite deal of tittle tattle you make an end, calling *God to witneſs, that you undertook the defence of this Cauſe, not only becauſe you were deſired ſo to do, but becauſe your own Conſcience told you, that you could not poſſibly undertake the Defence of a better.* Is it fit for you to intermeddle with our matters, with which you have nothing to do, becauſe you were deſired, when we our ſelves did not deſire you? to reproach with contumelious and opprobrious Language, and in a Printed Book, the Supreme Magiſtracy of the *Engliſh* Nation, when according to the authority and power that they are entruſted with, they do but their duty within their own Juriſdiction, and all this without the leaſt injury or provocation from them? (for they did not ſo much as know that there was ſuch a man in the world as you.) And I pray by whom were you deſired? By your Wife, I ſuppoſe, who, they ſay, exerciſes a Kingly Right and Juriſdiction over you; and whenever ſhe has a mind to it, (as *Fulvia* is made to ſpeak in that obſcene Epigram, that you collected ſome *Centoes* out of, *Pag.* 320.) cries, *Either write, or let's fight;* That made you write perhaps, leſt the Signal ſhould be given. Or were you aſked by *Charles* the Younger, and that profligate Gang of Vagabond Courtiers, and like a ſecond *Balaam* call'd upon by another *Balak*

to reſtore a deſperate Cauſe by ill writing, that was loſt by ill fighting? That may be; but there's this difference, for he was a wiſe underſtanding man, and rid upon an Aſs that could ſpeak, to curſe the People of God: Thou art a very talkative Aſs thy ſelf, and rid by a Woman, and being ſurrounded with the healed heads of the Biſhops that heretofore thou hadſt wounded, thou ſeem'ſt to repreſent that Beaſt in the *Revelation*. But they ſay that a little after you had written this Book, you repented of what you had done. 'Tis well if it be ſo; and to make your repentance publick, I think the beſt courſe that you can take will be, for this long Book that you have writ, to take a Halter, and make one long Letter of your ſelf. So *Judas Iſcariot* repented, to whom you are like; and that young *Charles* knew, which made him ſend you the Purſe, *Judas* his Badg; for he had heard before, and found afterward by experience, that you were an Apoſtate and a Devil. *Judas* betray'd *Chriſt* himſelf, and you betray his Church; you have taught heretofore that Biſhops were *Antichriſtian*, and you are now revolted to their Party. You now undertake the Defence of their Cauſe, whom formerly you damn'd to the pit of Hell. Chriſt delivered all men from Bondage, and you endeavour to enſlave all Mankind. Never queſtion, ſince you have been ſuch a Villain to God himſelf, his Church, and all Mankind in general, but that the ſame fate attends you that befel your equal, out of deſpair rather than repentance, to be weary of your life, and hang your ſelf, and burſt aſunder as he did; and to ſend before-hand that faithleſs and treacherous Conſcience of yours, that railing Conſcience at good and holy men, to that place of torment that's prepared for you. And now I think, through God's aſſiſtance, I have finiſhed the Work I undertook, to wit, the defence of the Noble Actions

of my Country-men at home and abroad, againſt the raging and envious madneſs of this diſtracted Sophiſter; and the aſſerting of the common Rights of the People againſt the unjuſt domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: Nor have I purpoſely left unanſwered any one argument alleged by my adverſary, nor any one example or authority quoted by him, that ſeem'd to have any force in it, or the leaſt colour of an argument. Perhaps I have been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to ſome of his fooleries and trifles, as if they were ſolid arguments, and thereby may ſeem to have attributed more to them than they deſerved. One thing yet remains to be done, which perhaps is of the greateſt concern of all, and that is, That you, my Country-men, refute this adverſary of yours your ſelves; which I do not ſee any other means of your effecting, than by a conſtant endeavour to outdo all mens bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more ſorts of oppreſſion than one, you betook your ſelves to God for refuge, and he was graciouſly pleaſed to hear your moſt earneſt Prayers and Deſires. He has glorioſly delivered you the firſt of Nations, from the two greateſt miſchiefs of this life, and moſt pernicious to Vertue, Tyranny and Superſtition; he has endued you with greatneſs of mind to be firſt of Mankind, who after having conquered their own King, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not ſcrupled to condemn him judicially, and purſuant to that Sentence of Condemnation, to put him to death. After the performing ſo glorious an Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not ſo much as to think of, much leſs to do any thing but what is great and ſublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way; as you have ſubdued your Enemies in Field, ſo to make appear, that unarmed, and

in the highest outward Peace and Tranquillity, you of all Mankind are best able to subdue Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that Prosperity is apt to introduce, (which generally subdue and triumph over other Nations) to show as great Justice, Temperance and Moderation in the maintaining your Liberty, as you have shown Courage in freeing your selves from Slavery. These are the only Arguments by which you will be able to evince that you are not such Persons as this Fellow represents you, *Traitors, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Madmen;* that you did not put your King to death out of any ambitious design, or a desire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any seditious Principles or sinister Ends; that it was not an act of Fury or Madness; but that it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, your Religion, to Justice, Vertue, and your Countrey, that you punished a Tyrant. But if it should fall out otherwise (which God forbid) if as you have been valiant in War, you should grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have had such visible demonstrations of the Goodness of God to your selves, and his Wrath against your Enemies; and that you should not have learned by so eminent, so remarkable an Example before your Eyes, to fear God, and work Righteousness; for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) whatever ill men may speak or think of you, to be very true. And you will find in a little time, that God's Displeasure against you, will be greater than it has been against your Adversaries, greater than his Grace and Favour has been to your selves, which you have had larger experience of, than any other Nation under Heaven.

Letters of State

)uring the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwel.*

LETTERS written in the Name of the *Parliament.*

ɜe Senate and People of England, *to the moſt Noble Senate of the City of* Hamborough.

FOR how long a Series of paſt Years, and for what important Reaſons the Friendſhip enter'd into by our Anceſtors with your moſt Noble City, has continu'd to this day, we both willingly acknowledg, ɜether with your ſelves; nor is it a thing diſpleaſing us, frequently alſo to call to our remembrance. ıt as to what we underſtand by your Letters dated e 25*th* of *June*, that ſome of our People deal not ith that Fidelity and Probity, as they were wont to in their Trading and Commerce among ye; we eſently referr'd it to the Conſideration of certain ɜrſons well ſkill'd in thoſe matters, to the end they ight make a more ſtrict enquiry into the Frauds the Clothiers and other Artificers of the Woolen anufacture. And we farther promiſe to take ſuch ectual care, as to make you ſenſible of our unalterle Intentions, to preſerve ſincerity and juſtice among r ſelves, as alſo never to neglect any good Offices

of our kindneſs that may redound to the welfare of your Commonwealth. On the other hand, there is ſomething likewiſe which we not only require, but which Equity it ſelf, and all the Laws of God and Man demand of your ſelves, That you will not only conſerve inviolable to the Merchants of our Nation their Privileges, but by your Authority and Power defend and protect their Lives and Eſtates, as it becomes your City to do. Which as we moſt earneſtly deſir'd in our former Letters; ſo upon the repeated Complaints of our Merchants that are daily made before us, we now more earneſtly ſolicite and requeſt it: they complaining, That their ſafety, and all that they have in the World, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledg themſelves to have reap'd ſome Benefit for a ſhort time of our former Letters ſent you, and to have had ſome reſpite from the Injuries of a ſort of profligate People; yet ſince the coming of the ſame *Coc—m* to your City (of whom we complain'd before) who pretends to be honour'd with a ſort of Embaſſy from —— the Son of the lately deceas'd King, they have been aſſaulted with all manner of ill Language, Threats, and naked ſwords of Ruffians and Homicides, and have wanted your accuſtom'd Protection and Defence; inſomuch, that when two or three of the Merchants, together with the Preſident of the Society, were hurry'd away by ſurprize aboard a certain Privateer, and that the reſt implor'd your Aid, yet they could not obtain any Aſſiſtance from you, till the Merchants themſelves were forced to embody their own ſtrength, and reſcue from the hands of Pirates the Perſons ſeiz'd on in that River, of which your City is the Miſtreſs, not without extream hazard of their Lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought 'em home again, and as it were by force of Arms recover'd 'em from an ignominious Captivity, and carry'd the Pirates

hemſelves into Cuſtody; we are inform'd that *Coc—m* was ſo audacious as to demand the releaſe of he Pirates, and that the Merchants might be deiver'd Priſoners into his hands. We therefore again, nd again, beſeech and adjure ye, if it be your intention that Contracts and Leagues, and the very ntient Commerce between both Nations ſhould be reſerv'd, the thing which you deſire, That our Peole may be able to aſſure themſelves of ſome certain nd firm ſupport and reliance upon your Word, your 'rudence and Authority; that you would lend 'em a ivourable Audience concerning theſe matters, and hat you would inflict deſerved Puniſhment as well pon *Coc—m*, and the reſt of his Accomplices in hat wicked act, as upon thoſe who lately aſſaulted he Preacher, hitherto unpuniſh'd, or command 'em o depart your Territories; nor that you would beeve that expell'd and exil'd *Tarquins* are to be pre-r'd, before the Friendſhip, and the Wealth, and 'ower of our Republick. For if you do not careilly provide to the contrary, but that the enemies f our Republick ſhall preſume to think lawful the ommitting of any Violences againſt us in your City, ıow unſafe, how ignominious the Reſidence of our 'eople there will be, do you conſider with your ſelves. 'heſe things we recommend to your Prudence and 'quity, your ſelves to the Protection of Heaven.

Weſtminſter, Aug. 10. 1649.

To the Senate of Hamborough.

YOUR conſpicuous Favour in the doubtful Condition of our Affairs, is now the reaſon, that ter Victory and proſperous Succeſs, we can no longer ıeſtion your good Will and friendly Inclination toards us. As for our parts, the War being almoſt

now determin'd, and our Enemies every where vanquiſh'd, we have deem'd nothing more juſt, or more conducing to the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Republick, then that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our Captain and Conductor) have either recover'd their Liberty, or obtain'd their Lives and Fortunes, after the pernicious Ravages of a Civil War, of our free Gift and Grace, ſhould teſtify and pay in exchange to their Magiſtrates Allegiance and Duty in a ſolemn manner, if need requir'd: More eſpecially when ſo many turbulent and exaſperated Perſons, more then once receiv'd into Protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiouſly, and raiſing new Diſturbances. To that purpoſe we took care to enjoin a certain form of an Oath, by which all who held any Office in the Common-wealth, or being fortify'd with the Protection of the Law, enjoy'd both ſafety, Eaſe, and all other conveniences of Life, ſhould bind themſelves to Obedience in words preſcrib'd. This we alſo thought proper to be ſent to all Colonies abroad, or where-ever elſe our People reſided for the convenience of Trade; to the end that the Fidelity of thoſe over whom we are ſet, might be prov'd and known to us as it is but reaſonable and neceſſary. Which makes us wonder ſo much the more at what our Merchants write from your City, that they are not permitted to execute our Commands by ſome or other of your *Order* and Degree. Certainly what the moſt Potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, moſt jealous of their Power and their Intereſts, never thought any way belonging to their inſpection, namely whether the *Engliſh* Foreigners ſwore Fidelity and Allegiance to their Magiſtrates at home, either in theſe or thoſe Words, how that ſhould come to be ſo ſuſpected and troubleſom to your City, we muſt plainly acknowledg that we do not underſtand. But this proceeding from the private incli-

nations or fears of some, whom certain Vagabond *Scots*, expell'd their Country, are said to have enforc'd by Menaces, on purpose to deter our Merchants from swearing Fidelity to us, we impute not to your City. Most earnestly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of Trade, but the honour of the Republick it self that lies at stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have no reason to concern himself in this Affair, to interpose his Authority, whatever it be, with that Supremacy which we challenge over our own Subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of Foreigners, but by the Laws of our Country; for who would not take it amiss, if we should forbid your *Hamburgers*, residing here, to swear Fidelity to you that are their Magistrates at Home? Farewel.

Jan. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

WE send to your Majesty *Anthony Ascham*, a person of Integrity, Learned, and descended of an ancient Family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the *Spanish*, as to the *English* Nation. Wherefore in friendly manner, we desire that you would be pleas'd to grant, and order him a Safe and Honourable Passage to your Royal City, and the same in his return from thence, readily prepar'd to repay the kindness when occasion offers. Or if your Majesty be otherwise inclin'd, that it may be signify'd to him with the soonest, what your Pleasure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

WHat is the Condition of our Affairs, and by what heinous Injuries provok'd and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our Liberty by force of Arms; what constituted form of Government we now make use of, can neither be conceal'd from your Majesty, nor any other Person who has but cast an impartial Eye upon our Writings publish'd on these Occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our Fidelity, our Equity, and Patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their Approbations; as also to defend our Authority, Honour, and Grandeur, against the infamous Tongues of Exiles and Fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign Nations, after having subdu'd and vanquish'd the Enemies of our Country through the miraculous Assistance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profess our selves readily prepar'd to have Peace and Friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of Empire, with our Neighbour Nations. For these reasons we have sent into *Spain* to your Majesty, *Anthony Ascham*, of approv'd Dexterity and Probity, to treat with your Majesty concerning Friendship, and the accustom'd Commerce between both Nations; or else, if it be your Pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new Articles and Alliances. Our Request therefore is, that you will grant him free Liberty of Access to your Majesty, and give such Order that care may be taken of his Safety and Honour, while he resides a Publick Minister with your Majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for

the Benefit, as we hope, of both Nations; and certify to us with the ſooneſt, what are your Majeſty's ſentiments concerning theſe matters.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the moſt Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting*.

AFter we had ſuffer'd many, and thoſe the utmoſt Miſchiefs of a faithleſs Peace, and inteſtine War, Our being reduc'd to thoſe Exigencies, that if we had any regard to the ſafety of the Republick, there was a neceſſity of altering for the chiefeſt part the form of Government, is a thing which we make no queſtion is well known to your Majeſty, by what we have both publickly written and declar'd in juſtification of our Proceedings. To which, as it is but reaſon, if credit might be rather given than to the moſt malicious Calumnies of looſe and wicked men; perhaps we ſhould find thoſe Perſons more amicably inclin'd, who now abroad have the worſt ſentiments of our Actions. For as to what we juſtify our ſelves to have juſtly and ſtrenuouſly perform'd after the Example of our Anceſtors, in purſuance of our Rights, and for recovery of the native Liberty of *Engliſhmen*, certainly it is not the work of Human force or wit to eradicate the perverſe and obſtinate Opinions of People wickedly inclin'd concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign Nations, and more for the general Intereſt on both ides, we are willing to let the World know, that here is nothing which we more ardently deſire, than hat the Friendſhip and Commerce which our Peole have been accuſtom'd to maintain with all our

Neighbours, ſhould be enlarg'd and ſettled in the moſt ample and ſolemn manner. And whereas our People have always driven a very great Trade, and gainful to both Nations, in your Kingdom; we ſhall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any Impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foreſee that all our Induſtry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the Pyrates and Revolters of our Nation ſhall be ſuffer'd to have refuge in your Ports, and after they have taken and plunder'd the laden Veſſels of the *Engliſh*, ſhall be permitted to ſell their Goods by publick Outcries at *Liſbon*. To the end therefore that a more ſpeedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Miſchief, and that we may be more clearly ſatisfy'd concerning the Peace which we deſire, we have ſent to *Your Majeſty* the moſt noble *Charles Vane*, under the Character of our Agent, with Inſtructions and a Commiſſion, a plenary Teſtimonial of the Truſt we have repos'd, and the Employment we have conferr'd upon him. Him therefore we moſt earneſtly deſire your Majeſty graciouſly to hear, to give him Credit, and to take ſuch Order that he may be ſafe in his Perſon and his Honour, within the bounds of your Dominions. Theſe things, as they will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we promiſe, whenever occaſion offers, that the ſame Offices of kindneſs to your Majeſty ſhall be mutually obſerv'd on all our parts.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the moſt Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting*.

ALmoſt daily and moſt grievous Complaints are brought before us, that certain of our Seamen and Officers who revolted from us the laſt Year, and

treacherously and wickedly carry'd away the Ships with the Command of which they were entrusted, and who having made their escape from the Port of *Ireland*, where being blockt up for almost a whole Summer together, they very narrowly avoided the Punishment due to their Crimes, have now betaken themselves to the Coast of *Portugal*, and the mouth of the River *Tagus*; that there they practise furious Piracy, taking and plundering all the *English* Vessels they meet with sailing to and fro upon the account of Trade; and that all the adjoining Seas are become almost impassable by reason of their notorious and infamous Robberies. To which increasing Mischief, unless a speedy Remedy be apply'd, who does not see but that there will be a final end of that rich Trade so gainful to both Nations, which our People were wont to drive with the *Portuguese*? Wherefore we again and again request *Your Majesty*, that you will command those Pyrates and Revolters to depart the Territories of *Portugal*: And that if any pretended Embassadors present themselves from ******* that you will not vouchsafe to give them Audience; but that you will rather acknowledge us, upon whom the Supream Power of *England*, by the conspicuous Favour and Assistance of the Almighty, is devolv'd; and that the Ports and Rivers of *Portugal*, may not be bar'd and defended against your Friends and Confederates Fleet, no less serviceable to your Emolument, than the Trade of the *English*.

To Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

HOW heinously, and with what Detestation your Majesty resented the villanous Murder of our Agent, *Anthony Ascham*, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his Assassinates, we have been given to understand, as well

by your Majesty's own Letters, as from your Embassador *Don Alphonso de Cardenos*. Nevertheless, so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody Fact, which utterly subverts the very Foundations of Correspondence and Commerce, and of the Privilege of Embassadors, most sacred among all Nations, so villanously violated without severity of Punishment, We cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your Majesty, That those Parricides may with all speed imaginable be brought to Justice, and that you would not suffer their merited Pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of Religion. For tho most certainly we highly value the Friendship of a Potent Prince; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours, that the Authors of such an enormous Parricide should receive the deserved Reward of their Impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful Mind acknowledg that Civility, of which by your Command, our People were not unsensible, as also your surpassing Affection for us, which lately your Embassador at large unfolded to us: Nor will it be displeasing to us to return the same good Offices to your Majesty, and the *Spanish* Nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if Justice be not satisfy'd without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting Friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe that the presence of your Embassador does not a little conduce.

To the Spanish *Embassador.*

Most Excellent Lord,

THe Council of State, so soon as their weighty Affairs would permit 'em, having carried into Parlament the four Writings, which it pleas'd your *Excellency* to impart to the Council upon the 19th of *December* last, have receiv'd in Command from the Parlament to return this Answer to the first Head of those Writings, touching the villanous Assassinates of their late Agent, *Anthony Ascham.*

The Parlament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved Punishment, that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your Excellency well observ'd) his Royal Majesty's Authority it self is so deeply concern'd, that unless Justice be done upon such notorious Offenders, all the foundations of Human Society, all the ways of preserving Friendship among Nations, of necessity must be overturn'd and abolish'd. Nor can we apprehend by any Argument drawn from Religion, that the Blood of the Innocent, shed by a propensely malicious Murder, is not to be aveng'd. The Parlament therefore once more most urgently presses, and expects from his Royal Majesty, according to their first Demands, That Satisfaction be given 'em effectually, and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, *Archduke of* Austria, *Governor of the* Spanish Low Countries, *under King* Philip.

SO soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous Complaint, that *Jane Puckering*, an Heiress of an illustrious and opulent Family, while

yet by reason of her Age, she was under Guardians, not far from the House wherein she then liv'd at *Greenwich*, was violently forc'd from the Hands and Embraces of her Attendants; and of a sudden in a Vessel to that purpose ready prepar'd, carri'd off into *Flanders* by the Treachery of one *Walsh*, who has endeavour'd all the ways imaginable, in contempt of Law both Human and Divine, to constrain a wealthy Virgin to Marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present Death. We deeming it proper to apply some speedy Remedy to so enormous and unheard-of piece of Villany, gave order to some Persons to treat with the Governours of *Newport* and *Ostend* (for the unfortunate Captive was said to be landed in one of those two places) about rescuing the *free-born* Lady out of the Hands of the Ravisher. Who, both out of their singular Humanity and love of Vertue, lent their assisting Aid to the young Virgin in servitude, and by down-right Robbery rifl'd from her Habitation: So that to avoid the violence of her imperious Masters, she was as it were deposited in a Nunnery, and committed to the charge of the Governess of the Society. Wherefore the same *Walsh* to get her again into his Clutches, has commenc'd a Suit against her in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Bishop of *Ypre*, pretending a Matrimonial Contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the *Ravisher* and the *Ravish'd* Person, are Natives of our Country, as by the Witnesses upon their Oaths abundantly appears; as also for that the splendid Inheritance after which most certainly the Criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our Territories; so that we conceive that the whole cognizance and determination of this Cause belongs solely to our selves: Therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the Husband, here let him commence his Suit, and demand the delivery of the Person whom he claims for

his Wife. In the mean time, this it is that we moſt earneſtly requeſt from your Highneſs, which is no more then what we have already requeſted by our Agent reſiding at *Bruſſels*, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways miſus'd Virgin, born of honeſt Parents, but pyrated out of her Native Country, to return, as far as lies in your Power, with freedom and ſafety home again. This not only We upon all opportunities offer'd, as readily prepar'd to return the ſame Favour and Kindneſs to your Highneſs, but alſo Humanity it ſelf, and that ſame hatred of Infamy, which ought to accompany all Perſons of Vertue and Courage in defending the Honour of the Female Sex, ſeem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Weſtminſter, March 28. 1650.

To the moſt Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal.

UNderſtanding that *Your Majeſty* had both honourably receiv'd our Agent, and immediately given him a favourable Audience, we thought it became us to aſſure your Majeſty without delay, by ſpeedy Letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more ſacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not firſt provok'd, the Peace, the Friendſhip and Commerce, now for ſome time ſettl'd between us and the greateſt number of other Foreign Nations, and amongſt the reſt with the *Portugueſes*. Nor did we ſend the *Engliſh* Fleet to the mouth of the River *Tagus* with any other intention or deſign, then in purſuit of Enemies ſo often put to flight, and for recovery of our Veſſels, which being carry'd away from their Owners by Force and

Treachery, the ſame Rabble of Fugitives conducted to your Coaſts, and even to *Liſbon* it ſelf, as to the moſt certain Fairs for the ſale of their Plunder. But we are apt to believe that by this time almoſt all the *Portugueſes* are abundantly convinc'd, from the flagitious manners of thoſe People, of their Audaciouſneſs, their Fury and their Madneſs. Which is the reaſon we are in hopes that we ſhall more eaſily obtain from your Majeſty, Firſt, That you will, as far as in you lies, be aſſiſtant to the moſt illuſtrious *Edward Popham*, whom we have made Admiral of our new Fleet, for the ſubduing thoſe deteſted Freebooters, and that you will no longer ſuffer 'em, together with their Captain, not Gueſts, but Pyrats, not Merchants, but the Peſts of Commerce, and Violaters of the Law of Nations, to harbour in the Ports and under the ſhelter of the Fortreſſes of your Kingdom; but that where-ever the Confines of *Portugal* extend themſelves, you will command 'em to be expell'd as well by Land as by Sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at leaſt that with your leave it may be lawful for us with our proper Forces to aſſail our own Revolters and Sea-Robbers; and if it be the pleaſure of Heaven, to reduce 'em into our Power. This, as we have earneſtly deſired in our former Letters, ſo now again with the greateſt ardency and importunity we requeſt of your Majeſty. By this, whether Equity, or act of Kindneſs, you will not only enlarge the fame of your Juſtice over all well govern'd and civil Nations, but alſo in a greater meaſure bind both us and the People of *England*, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the *Portugueſes*, to your ſelf and to your Subjects. Farewel.

Weſtminſter, 27 April, 1650.

To the Hamburghers.

MOre then once we have written concerning the Controverſies of the Merchants, and ſome other hings which more nearly concern the Dignity of our Republick, yet no Anſwer has been return'd. But nderſtanding that Affairs of that nature can hardly e determin'd by Letters only, and that in the mean ime certain ſeditious Perſons have been ſent to your City by ******* authoriz'd with no other Commiſſion than that of Malice and Audaciouſneſs, who make it their buſineſs utterly to extirpate the ancient Trade of our People in your City, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe fidelity to their Country is moſt conſpicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and moſt eminent *Richard Bradſhaw* to reſide as our Agent among ye, to the end he may be able more at large o treat and negotiate with your Lordſhips ſuch Mater and Affairs, as are interwoven with the Benefit nd Advantages of both Republicks. Him therefore e requeſt ye, with the ſooneſt to admit to a favourble Audience; and that in all things that Credit ay be given to him, that Honour paid him, as is ſual in all Countries, and among all Nations paid to oſe that bear his Character. Farewel.

Weſtminſter, April 2, 1650.

To the Hamburghers.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious,
our dearest Friends;

THat your Sedulities in the Reception of our Agent were ſo cordial and ſo egregious, we both gladly nderſtand, and earneſtly exhort ye that you would erſevere in your good Will and Affection towards s. And this we do with ſo much the greater vehe-

mence, as being inform'd that the ſame Exiles of ours, concerning whom we have ſo frequently written, now carry themſelves more inſolently in your City than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatning language in a moſt deſpiteful manner againſt our Reſident. Therefore once more by theſe our Letters we would have the ſafety of his Perſon, and the Honour due to his Quality, recommended to your Care. On the other ſide, if you inflict ſevere and timely Puniſhment upon thoſe Fugitives and Ruffians, as well the old ones as the new comers, it will be moſt acceptable to us, and becoming your Authority and Prudence.

Weſtminſter, May 31. 1650.

To Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

TO our infinite ſorrow we are given to underſtand, That *Anthony Aſcham*, by us lately ſent our Agent to your Majeſty, and under that Character moſt civilly and publickly receiv'd by your Governours, upon his firſt coming to your Royal City, naked of all defence and guard, was moſt bloodily murder'd in a certain Inn, together with *John Baptiſta de Ripa* his Interpreter, butcher'd at the ſame time. Wherefore we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, That deſerved Puniſhment may be ſpeedily inflicted upon thoſe Parricides already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to cuſtody, who have not only preſum'd to wound our ſelves through his ſides, but have alſo dar'd to ſtab as it were to the very Heart, your Faith of Word and Royal Honour. So that we make no queſtion but what we ſo ardently deſire, would nevertheleſs be done effectually, by a Prince of his own accord ſo juſt and pious, though no body requir'd it. As to what remains we make it our farther ſuit, That the breathleſs Carcaſs may be deliver'd to his Friends and Attendants to be

ought back and inter'd in his own Country, and at such care may be taken for the security of those at remain alive, as is but requisite; till having tain'd an Answer to these Letters, if it may be me, they shall return to us the Witnesses of your iety and Justice.

Westminster, June 28. 1650.

o the most Excellent Lord, Anthony John Lewis de la Cerda, *Duke of* Medina Celi, *Governor of* Andalusia. *The Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.*

WE have receiv'd Advice from those most accomplish'd Persons, whom we have lately ent with our Fleet into *Portugal* in pursuit of Traitors, and for the recovery of our Vessels, that they ere most civilly receiv'd by your Excellency, as ften as they happen'd to touch upon the Coast of *allæcia*, which is under your Government, and assted with all things necessary to those that perform ng Voyages. This Civility of yours, as it was ways most acceptable to us, so it is now more escially at this time, while we are sensible of the ill ill of others in some places towards us without any st cause giv'n on our side: Therefore we make it ir request to your *Illustrious Lordship*, that you will rsevere in the same good Will and Affection to us, d that you would continue your Favour and Assistce to our People, according to your wonted Civility, often as our Ships put in to your Harbours: and assur'd that there is nothing which we desire of ur Lordship in the way of Kindness, which we all not be able to repay both to you and yours, henever the like occasion shall be offer'd us.

Westminster, Nov. 7. 1650.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council,

J. Bradshaw, President.

To the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City Dantzick.

Magnificent and moſt Noble Lords,
our deareſt Friends;

MAny Letters are brought us from our Merchar trading upon the Coaſt of *Boruſſia*, where they complain of a grievous Tribute impos'd up 'em in the Grand Council of the *Polanders*, enforci 'em to pay the tenth part of all their Goods for t Relief of the King of *Scots*, our Enemy. Which regard it is plainly contrary to the Law of Natior that Gueſts and Strangers ſhould be dealt withal ſuch a manner; and moſt unjuſt that they ſhould compell'd to pay publick Stipends in a Foreign Cor monwealth to him from whom they are, by Go Aſſiſtance, deliver'd at home; we make no queſti but that out of reſpect to that Liberty, which as v underſtand you your ſelves enjoy, you will not ſufl ſo heavy a Burden to be laid upon Merchants in yo City, wherein they have maintain'd a continual Ami and Commerce, to the extraordinary Advantage the place for many years together. If therefore y think it convenient to undertake the Protection our Merchants trading among ye, which we aſſurec expect as well from your Prudence and Equity, from the Dignity and Grandeur of your City; V ſhall take that care, that you ſhall be ſenſible fro time to time, of our grateful acceptance of yc Kindneſs, as often as the *Dantzichers* ſhall have a dealings within our Territories, or their Ships, frequently it happens, put into our Ports.

Weſtminſter, Febr. 6. 1650.

To the Portugal *Agent.*

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

WE receiv'd your Letters dated from *Hampton* the 15th of this Month, wherein you ſignify, That you are ſent by the King of *Portugal* to the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England;* but ay not under what Character, whether of Embaſſador, or Agent, or Envoy, which we would willingly nderſtand by your Credential Letters from the King, Copy of which you may ſend us with all the ſpeed ou can. We would alſo further know, whether you ome with a Plenary Commiſſion, to give us Satiſfaction for the Injuries, and to make Reparation for he Damages which your King has done this Republick, protecting our Enemy all the laſt Summer in is Harbours, and prohibiting the *Engliſh* Fleet, then eady to aſſail Rebels and Fugitives, which our Admiral had purſu'd ſo far; but never reſtraining the Enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word that you have ample and full Commiſſion to give us Satisfaction concerning all theſe Matters, and end us withal a Copy of your Recommendatory Letters, we ſhall then take care, that you may with ll ſpeed repair to us upon the *Public Faith:* At which time, when we have read the King's Letters, ou ſhall have liberty freely to declare what further Commands you have brought along with you.

he Parlament of the Common-wealth of England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* D. Ferdinand, *Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *&c.*

WE have receiv'd your Highneſs's Letters, dated *April* 22. 1651. and deliver'd to us by your eſident, *Signor Almerick Salvetti,* wherein we readily

perceive how greatly your Highness favours the *English Name*, and the Value you have for this Nation; which not only our Merchants, that for many Years have traded in your Ports, but also certain of our young Nobility, either travelling through your Cities, or residing there for the improvement of their Studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us; we also on our parts make this Request to your *Highness*, That your *Serenity* will persevere in your accustom'd good Will and Affection towards our Merchants, and other Citizens of our Republick, travelling through the *Tuscan* Territories. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the Parliament, That nothing shall be wanting which may any way conduce to the Confirmation and Establishment of that Commerce and mutual Friendship that now has been of long continuance between both Nations, and which it is our earnest wish and desire should be preserv'd to perpetuity by all Offices of Humanity, Civility, and mutual Observance.

Westminster, Jan. 20. 1651.

Sealed with the Seal of the Parlament, and subscribed by *William Lenthall* Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

THE Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the ancient Friendship and mutual Com-

merce between the *English* Nation and your City, not long since sent thither *Richard Bradshaw* Esq. with the Character of our Resident; and among other instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him a express Charge to demand Justice against certain persons within your Jurisdiction, who endeavour'd murder the *Preacher* belonging to the *English* ciety, and who likewise laid impious hands upon e Deputy-President, and some of the principal erchants of the same Company, and hurri'd 'em way aboard of a Privateer. And although the afore-d Resident, upon his first Reception and Audience, ade known to your Lordships in a particular manner e Commands which he receiv'd from us; upon hich it was expected that you would have made ose Criminals ere this a severe Example of your stice: yet when we understood our Expectations ere not answer'd, considering with our selves what nger both our People and their Estates were in, if ficient Provision were not made for their Security d Protection against the Malice of their Enemies, e again sent Orders to our aforesaid Resident, to present to your Lordships our Judgment upon the hole Matter; as also to exhort and perswade ye, the Name of this Republick, to be careful of pre-ving the Friendship and Alliance contracted be-een this Commonwealth and your City, as also the affick and Commerce no less advantagious for the terest of both; and to that end, that you would t fail to protect our Merchants, together with their ivileges, from all Violation, and more particularly ainst the Insolencies of one *Garmes*, who has carry'd nself contumeliously toward this Republick, and blickly cited to the *Chamber* of *Spire*, certain Mer-ants of the *English* Company residing in your City, the great contempt of this Commonwealth, and uble of our Merchants; for which we expect such

pose relating to these Affairs.

Westminster, *Mar*. 12. 1651.

Seal'd with the Parlament Seal
subscrib'd *Speaker*, &c.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of Englan
the most Serene Christiana, *Queen of the* Sw
Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c. Greeting*.

Most Serene Queen;

WE have receiv'd and read your Majesty's L
to the Parlament of *England*, dated
Stockholm the 26*th* of *September* last, and deliver
Peter Spering Silvercroon; and there is nothing w
we more vehemently and cordially desire, than
the ancient Peace, Traffick and Commerce of
continuance between the *English* and *Swedes*,
prove diuturnal, and every day encrease. Nor d
question but that your Majesty's Embassador was
amply instructed to make those Proposals c
which should be most for the Interest and Honc
both Nations, and which we were no less r
prepar'd to have heard, and to have done effec

came Perſons whom it no leſs behov'd to acquieſce in the Will of the Almighty) whence it comes to paſs that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your Majeſty's Pleaſure, and that there is a ſtop at preſent put to this Negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no leſs then by theſe our Letters, which we have given to our Meſſenger on purpoſe ſent with theſe unhappy Tydings, to ſignify to your Majeſty, how acceptable your Letters, how grateful your publick Miniſter were to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England; as alſo how earneſtly we expect your Friendſhip, and how highly we ſhall value the Amity of ſo great a Princeſs; aſſuring your Majeſty, that we have thoſe Thoughts of encreaſing the Commerce between this Republick and your Majeſty's Kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the higheſt Importance, which for that reaſon will be moſt acceptable to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England. And ſo we recommend your Majeſty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Weſtminſter, March — 1651.

Seal'd with the Parlament Seal, and Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain, *Greeting.*

THE Merchants of this Commonwealth, who trade in your Majeſties Territories, make loud Complaints of extraordinary Violence and Injuries offer'd 'em, and of new Tributes impos'd upon 'em by the Governours and other Officers of your Ports and Places where they traffick, and particularly in the *Canary* Iſlands, and this againſt the Articles of the League ſolemnly ratifi'd by both Nations on the account of Trade; the truth of which Complaints

they have confirm'd by Oath. And they make it out before us, that unless they can enjoy their Privileges, and that their Losses be repair'd; lastly, That except they may have some certain Safeguard and Protection for themselves and their Estates against those Violences and Injuries, they can no longer traffick in those Places. Which Complaints of theirs being duly weigh'd by us, and believing the unjust Proceedings of those Ministers, either not at all to have reach'd your Knowledg, or else to have been untruly represented to your Majesty, we deem'd it convenient to send the Complaints themselves, together with these our Letters, to your Majesty. Nor do we question but that your Majesty, as well out of your love of Justice, as for the sake of that Commerce no less gainful to your Subjects than our People, will command your Governours to desist from those unjust Oppressions of our Merchants, and so order it, that they may obtain speedy Justice, and due Satisfaction for those Injuries done 'em by *Don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman*, and others; and that your Majesty will take care that the Merchants aforesaid may reap the Fruit of those Articles; and be so far under your Protection, that both their Persons and their Estates may be secure and free from all manner of Injury and Vexation. And this they believe they shall for the greatest part obtain, if your Majesty will be pleas'd to restore 'em that Expedient, taken from 'em, of a Judg Conservator, who may be able to defend 'em from a new Consulship more uneasie to 'em; lest if no shelter from Injustice be allow'd 'em, there should follow a necessity of breaking off that Commerce which has hitherto brought great Advantages to both Nations, while the Articles of the League are violated in such a manner.

Westm. Aug. — 1651.

To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of Venice, *and the moſt Illuſtrious Senate.*

Moſt Serene Prince, moſt Illuſtrious Senate, our dearest Friends;

CErtain of our Merchants, by name *John Dickins*, and *Job Throkmorton*, with others, have made heir Complaints unto us, That upon the 28*th* of *Vovember* 1651, having ſeiz'd upon a hundred Buts f *Caveare* in the Veſſel called the *Swallow*, riding n the *Downs*, *Iſaac Taylour* Maſter, which were heir own proper Goods, and laden aboard the ſame hip in the *Muſcovite* Bay of *Archangel*, and this by he Authority of our Court of Admiralty; in which Court, the Suit being there depending, they obtain'd Decree for the delivery of the ſaid Buts of *Caveare* nto their poſſeſſion, they having firſt given Security o abide by the Sentence of that Court: And that he ſaid Court, to the end the ſaid Suit might be rought to a Concluſion, having written Letters, ccording to cuſtom, to the Magiſtrates and Judges f *Venice*; wherein they requeſted liberty to cite *ohn Piatti* to appear by his Proctor in the *Engliſh* Court of Admiralty, where the Suit depended, and rove his Right: Nevertheleſs that the ſaid *Piatti*, nd one *David Rutts* a *Hollander*, while this Cauſe epends here in our Court, put the ſaid *John Dickins*, nd thoſe other Merchants, to a vaſt deal of trouble bout the ſaid *Caveare*, and ſolicite the Seizure of heir Goods and Eſtates as forfeited for Debt. All which things, and whatever elſe has hitherto been one in our foreſaid Court, is more at large ſet forth n thoſe Letters of Requeſt aforemention'd; which fter we had view'd, we thought proper to be tranſmitted to the moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*, to

the end they might be aſſiſtant to our Merchants in this Cauſe. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earneſt Requeſt to your Highneſs, and the moſt Illuſtrious Senate, That not only thoſe Letters may obtain their due Force and Weight; but alſo that the Goods and Eſtates of the Merchants, which the foreſaid *Piatti* and *David Rutts*, have endeavour'd to make liable to Forfeiture, may be diſcharg'd; and that the ſaid Defendants may be referr'd hither to our Court, to try what Right they have in their Claim to this *Caveare*. Wherein your Highneſs, and the moſt Serene Republick will do as well what is moſt juſt in it ſelf, as what is truly becoming the ſpotleſs Amity between both Republicks: And laſtly, what will gratefully be recompenc'd by the good Will and kind Offices of this Republick, whenever Occaſion offers.

Whitehall, Feb. — 1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council, and Subſcrib'd *Preſident* of the Council.

To the Spaniſh Embaſſador.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, according to a Command from the Parlament, dated the 2*d* of *March*, having taken into ſerious deliberation your Excellencies Paper of the 15*th* of *February*, deliver'd to the Commiſſioners of this Council, wherein it ſeem'd good to your Excellency to propoſe that a Reply might be given to two certain Heads therein ſpecify'd as previous, returns the following Anſwer to your Excellency.

The Parlament when they gave an Anſwer to thoſe things which were propos'd by your Excellency at your firſt Audience, as alſo in thoſe Letters which

they wrote to the moſt Serene King of *Spain*, gave real and ample Demonſtrations how grateful and how acceptable that Friendſhip and that mutual Alliance which was offer'd by his Royal Majeſty, and by your ſelf in his Name, would be to 'em; and how fully they were reſolv'd, as far as in them lay, to make the ſame Returns of Friendſhip and good Offices.

After that, it ſeem'd good to your Excellency, at your firſt Audience in Council upon the 19*th* of *December Oldſtile*, to propound to this Council, as a certain Ground or Method for an auſpicious Commencement of a ſtricter Amity, that ſome of their Body might be nominated, who might hear what your Excellency had to propoſe; and who having well weigh'd the benefit that might redound from hence, ſhould ſpeedily report the ſame to the Council. To which requeſt of yours that ſatisfaction might be given, the Council appointed certain of their number to attend your Excellency, which was done accordingly. But inſtead of thoſe things which were expected to have bin propounded, the Conference produc'd no more than the abovemention'd Paper: To which the Anſwer of the Council is this.

When the Parlament ſhall have declar'd their Minds, and your Excellency ſhall have made the Proteſs as above expected, we ſhall be ready to confer with your Excellency, and to treat of ſuch Matters as you ſhall propoſe in the Name of the King your Maſter, as well in reference to the Friendſhip already concluded, as the entring into another more ſtrict and binding; or as to any thing elſe which ſhall be offer'd by our ſelves in the Name of this Republick: And when we deſcend to Particulars, we ſhall return ſuch Anſwers as are moſt proper, and the Nature of the thing propos'd ſhall require.

Whitehall, March 21. 1652.

The Parlament of the Common-wealth of England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* Frederick *the Third, King of* Denmark, *&c. Greeting.*

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

WE have receiv'd your Majeſty's Letters, dated from *Copenhagen* the 21*ſt* of *December* laſt, and deliver'd to the Parlament of the Common-wealth of *England* by the Noble *Henry Willemſem Roſenwyng de Lynſacker*, and moſt gladly perus'd 'em, with that affection of mind which the Matters therein propounded juſtly merit, and requeſt your Majeſty to be fully perſwaded of this, That the ſame Inclinations, the ſame Deſires of continuing and preſerving the ancient Friendſhip, Commerce, and Alliance for ſo many Years maintain'd between *England* and *Denmark*, which are in your Majeſty, are alſo in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleas'd Divine Providence, beholding this Nation with ſuch a benign and favourable Aſpect, to change for the better the receiv'd Form of the former Government among us; nevertheleſs, that the ſame Intereſts on both ſides, the ſame common Advantages, the ſame mutual Alliance and Free Traffick which produc'd the former Leagues and Confederacies between both Nations, ſtill endure and obtain their former Force and Virtue, and oblige both to make it their common ſtudy, by rendring thoſe Leagues the moſt beneficial that may be to each other, to eſtabliſh alſo a nearer and ſounder Friendſhip for the time to come. And if your Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to purſue thoſe Counſels which are manifeſted in your Royal Letters, the Parlament will be ready to embrace the ſame with all Alacrity and Fidelity, and to contribute all thoſe things to the utmoſt of their power,

vhich they ſhall think may conduce to that end. ınd they perſwade themſelves that your Majeſty for his reaſon, will take thoſe Counſels in reference to his Republick, which may facilitate the good ſucceſs of thoſe things propounded by your Majeſty to ur ſelves ſo deſirous of your Amity. In the mean ime the Parlament wiſhes all Happineſs and Proſerity to your Majeſty and People.

Weſtminſter, April — 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, and ſubſcrib'd in its Name, and by the Authority of it, *Speaker*, &c.

'he Parlament of the Common-wealth of England, *to the moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent, the Proconſuls and Senators of the* Hanſe-Towns, *Greeting.*

loſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our dereſt Friends;

THE *Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, has both receiv'd and perus'd your Letters of e 16*th* of *January* laſt, deliver'd by your Publick iniſter *Leo ab Ayſema*, and by their Authority have ven him Audience; at what time he declar'd the rdial and friendly Inclinations of your Cities toırd this Republick, and deſir'd that the ancient iendſhip might ſtill remain on both ſides. The ırlament therefore, for their parts, declare and aſre your Lordſhips, That they deem nothing more ateful to themſelves, than that the ſame Friendſhip d Alliance which has hitherto bin maintain'd beeen this Nation and thoſe Cities, ſhould be rew'd, and firmly ratify'd; and that they will be ıdy upon all occaſions fitly offer'd, what they proiſe in Words, ſolemnly to perform in real Deeds; d expect that their ancient Friends and Confede-

rates ſhould deal by them with the ſame Truth and Integrity. But as to thoſe things which your Reſident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referr'd entire to the *Council of State*, and his Propoſals were to be there conſider'd, they tranſacted with him there, and gave him ſuch Anſwers, as ſeem'd moſt conſentaneous to Equity and Reaſon, of which your Reſident is able to give you an Account; whoſe Prudence and conſpicuous Probity proclaim him worthy the publick Character by you conferr'd upon him.

Weſtminſter, April — 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

The Parlament of the Common-wealth of England, *to the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Hamborough, *Greeting*.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our dearest Friends;

THe Parlament of the Common-wealth of *England* has receiv'd and perus'd your Letters, dated from *Hamborough* the 15*th* of *January* laſt, and deliver'd by the Noble *Leo ab Ayſema*, yours and the reſt of the *Hanſeatic* Cities Reſident, and by their own Authority gave him Audience; and as to what other particular Commands he had from your City, they have referr'd 'em to the Council of State, and gave 'em Orders to receive his Propoſals, and to treat with him as ſoon as might be, concerning all ſuch things as ſeem'd to be Juſt and Equal: which was alſo done accordingly. And as the Parlament has made it manifeſt, that they will have a due regard to what ſhall be propos'd by your Lordſhips, and have

tify'd their ſingular Goodwill toward your City, ſending their Reſident thither, and commanding Abode there; ſo on the other ſide they expect d deſervedly require from your Lordſhips, that the ne Equity be return'd to them, in things which to the Benefit of this Republick, either already pos'd, or hereafter to be propounded by our ſaid ſident in their Name to your City, anciently our iend and Confederate.

Weſtminſter, April — 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

e Council of State of the Republick of England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

HE Council of State being inform'd by Letters from *Charles Longland*, who takes care of the airs of the *Engliſh* in your Highneſſes Court of *ghorn*, that lately fourteen Men of War, belonging the *United Provinces*, came into that Harbour, and nly threatned to ſink or burn the *Engliſh* Ships t were riding in your Port; but that your *Serenity*, oſe Protection and Succour the *Engliſh* Merchants plor'd, gave Command to the Governour of *Leg-n*, that he ſhould aſſiſt and defend the *Engliſh* ſſels, they deem'd it their Duty to certify to your ghneſs how acceptable that Kindneſs and Pro-ion which you ſo favourably afforded the *Engliſh* tion, was to this Republick; and do promiſe your ghneſs that they will always keep in remembrance Merit of ſo deſerving a Favour, and will be ready n all occaſions to make the ſame returns of Friend-and good Offices to your People, and to do all

things elſe which may conduce to the preſervation and continuance of the uſual Amity and Commerce between both Nations. And whereas the *Dutch* Men of War, even in the time of Treaty offer'd by themſelves, were ſo highly perfidious, as to fall upon our Fleet in our own Roads, (in which foul Attempt, God, as moſt juſt Arbiter, ſhew'd himſelf offended and oppoſite to their Deſign) but alſo in the Ports of Foreigners endeavour'd to take or ſink our Merchant Veſſels; we thought it alſo neceſſary to ſend this Declaration alſo of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to your Highneſs, the publiſhing of which was occaſion'd by the Controverſies at preſent ariſen between this Republick and the *United Provinces*. By which your Highneſs may eaſily perceive how unjuſt and contrary to all the Laws of God and of Nations thoſe People have acted againſt this Republick; and how cordially the Parlament labour'd, for the ſake of publick Tranquillity, to have retain'd their priſtin Friendſhip and Alliance.

White-Hall, July 29. 1652.

In the Name, and by the Authority of the Council, ſubſcrib'd, *Preſident*.

To the Spaniſh *Embaſſador*.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

THE *Council of State*, upon mature deliberation of that Paper which they receiv'd from your Excellency, 27 May / 6 of June 1652. as alſo upon that which your Excellency at your Audience the 6/16 of this Month deliver'd to the Council, returns this Anſwer to both thoſe Papers: That the Parlament, *&c.* was always very deſirous of preſerving the firm Friendſhip and good Peace ſettled at preſent between this Republick and his Royal Majeſty of *Spain*, from the time that firſt your Excellency ſignify'd the tendency of

his Majesty's Inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both Nations. And this the Council of State in the Name, and by Command of the Parlament, in their Papers oftimes made known to your Excellency; and particularly, according to your Excellency's desire, made choice of Commissioners to attend and receive from your Excellency such Proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such Proposals, it seem'd good to your Excellency only to propound some general Matters, as it were previous to a future Conference, concerning which it seem'd to the Council that the Parlament had in former Papers fully made known their Sentiments. Nevertheless, for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all Scruples from your Excellency concerning those Matters which they at that time propos'd, the Council in that Paper, dated 21 March, / 10 April, declar'd themselves ready to come to a Conference with your Excellency concerning those things which you had in charge from his Royal Majesty, as well in reference o the pristin Amity, as to any farther Negotiation; s also touching such Matters as should be exhibited y us, in the name of this Republick; and when we ame to such Particulars as were to the purpose, and he nature of the thing requir'd, then to give conenient Answers. To which it seem'd good to your Excellency to make no Reply, nor to proceed any urther in that Affair for almost two Months. About hat time the Council receiv'd from your Excellency our first Paper, dated 27 May, / 6 June, wherein you only made his Proposal, That the Articles of Peace and League etween the late King *Charles* and your Master, dated he 6/16 of *November* 1630. might be review'd, and that he several Heads of it might be either enlarg'd or ft out according to the present condition of times

and things, and the late *Alteration of Government*. Which being no more than what we ourſelves briefly and clearly ſignify'd in our foreſaid Paper of the 31 *March*, 10 *April*, the Council expected that ſome particular Articles would have bin propounded out of that League, with thoſe Amplifications and Alterations of which you made mention; ſince otherwiſe it is impoſſible for us to return any other Anſwer concerning this matter than what we have already given. And whereas your Excellency in your laſt Paper ſeems to charge us with delay, the Council therefore took a ſecond review of the foreſaid Paper of the 27 of *May*, 6 of *Jun.* and of what was therein propounded, and are ſtill of opinion, that they have fully ſatisfy'd your Excellency in that former Paper: to which they can only farther add, That ſo ſoon as your Excellency ſhall be pleas'd, either out of the Leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame ſuch Conditions as ſhall be accommodated to the preſent ſtate of Things and Times, upon which you deſire to have the foundations of Friendſhip laid on your ſide, they will immediately return you ſuch Anſwers as by them ſhall be thought juſt and reaſonable, and which ſhall be ſufficient Teſtimonials that the Parlament ſtill perſeveres in the ſame deſires of preſerving an untainted and firm Amity with the King your Maſter, and that on their parts they will omit no honeſt Endeavours, and worthy of themſelves, to advance it to the higheſt Perfection.

Furthermore the Council deems it to be a part of their Duty, that your Excellency ſhould be put in mind of that Paper of ours, dated *Jan.* 30. 1651. to which in regard your Excellency has return'd no Anſwer as yet, we preſs and expect that ſatisfaction be given to the Parlament, as to what is therein mention'd.

The Anſwer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the King of Denmark *and* Norway, *deliver'd to the Commiſſioners of the Council, to the Anſwer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.*

TO the end that Satisfaction may be given to the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in reference to the Anſwer of the Council to the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth and ninth Article, the Council conſents that this following Clauſe ſhall be added at the end of their Anſwers: That is to ſay, beſides ſuch Colonies, Iſlands, Ports and Places under the Dominion of either Party, to which it is by Law provided that no body ſhall reſort upon the account of Trade or Commerce, unleſs upon ſpecial leave firſt obtain'd of that Party to which that Colony, Iſland, Port or Places belong.

The receiving of any Perſon into any Ship that ſhall be driven in by ſtreſs of Weather into the Rivers, Ports or Bays belonging to either Party, ſhall not render that Veſſel liable to any trouble or ſearch, by the Anſwer of the Council to the eleventh Article, as the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in their Reply ſeem to have underſtood, unleſs it be where ſuch a receiving ſhall be againſt the Laws, Statutes, or Cuſtom of that Place where the Veſſel put in, wherein it ſeems to the Council, that there is nothing of ſeverity ordain'd, but what equally conduces to the ſecurity of both Republicks.

As to the proving the Property of ſuch Ships and Goods as ſhall be caſt aſhore by Shipwrack, the Council deems it neceſſary that an Oath be adminiſtred in thoſe Courts which are already, or ſhall hereafter be conſtituted, where the Claimers may be

ſeverally heard, and every body's Right be
min'd and adjudg'd, which cannot be ſo clear
ſtrictly done by written Certificates, whence
Scruples and Doubts may ariſe, and many I
and Deceits creep into that ſort of Proof, wl
concerns both Parties to prevent. The Counc
deems it juſt, that a certain time be prefix'd,
which time, whoever does not prove himſe
lawful Owner of the ſaid Goods, ſhall be ex
to avoid Suits. But as to the manner of p
periſhable Goods to ſale that are caſt aſhore by
wrack, the Council thinks it meet to propo
way of ſelling by inch of Candle, as being the
probable means to procure the true Value
Goods for the beſt advantage of the Propr
Nevertheleſs, if the foreſaid Lords Embaſſador
propoſe any other method already found out
may more properly conduce to this end, the C
will be no hinderance, but that what is juſt n
put in practice. Neither is it to be underſtoo
the Conſideration of this matter ſhall put an
to the Treaty.

As to the Puniſhment of thoſe who ſhall
the propounded Treaty, the Council has mad
Addition which is mention'd in their Anſwer
fourteenth Article, for the greater force and e
of that Article, and thereby to render the Lea
ſelf more firm and laſting.

As to the laſt Clauſe of the fourteenth A
we think it not proper to give our Aſſent to
Leagues and Alliances, of which mention is m
the aforeſaid Anſwers, and which are only gen
propounded, before it be more clearly appar
us what they are. But when your Excellencie
be pleas'd to explain thoſe Matters more clea
the Council, we may be able to give a more e
Anſwer to thoſe Particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, which was return'd to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republick of England.

THe Council having view'd the Commissions of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, giving them power to transact with the Parlament or their Commissioners, concerning all things expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old Leagues or adding new ones, believ'd indeed the foresaid Lords to have bin furnish'd with that Authority as to be able to return Answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this Republick, as on the behalf of the *King of Denmark and Norway*, and so did not expect the Replies which it has pleas'd the foresaid Lords Embassadors to give to the *first*, *second*, *third* and *fifth* Demand of the Council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this Treaty, in regard it is but just in it self, and so resolv'd on in Council to comprehend the whole League, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this Republick, as those other Matters which concern the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the Council, that your Excellencies would be pleas'd to return an Answer to our first, second, third and fifth Demand.

As to the fourth Article concerning the Customs of *Gluckstadt*, in regard they are now abolish'd, as your Excellencies have mention'd in your Answer, the Council presses that their Abrogation may be ratifi'd by this Treaty, lest they should be re-impos'd hereafter.

As to the sixth Article concerning Pyracy, the

Council inſerted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the eſtabliſhing of Trade in common, which is much diſturb'd by Pyrates and Sea-Robbers. And whereas the Anſwer of the Lords Embaſſadors, as to this Article, relates only to Enemies, but makes no mention of Pyrates, the Council therefore deſires a more diſtinct Reply to it.

And whereas the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in their Reply to the Anſwer of the Council have paſs'd over both their tenth Article, and the Anſwer of the Council to it, the Council have thought it neceſſary to add this following Article to their following Demands:

That the people and Inhabitants of the Republick of *England* trading into any Kingdoms, Regions, or Territories of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, ſhall not for the future pay any more Cuſtoms, Tribute, Taxes, Duties or Stipends, or in any other manner than the People of the *United Provinces*, or any other Foreign Nation that pays the leaſt, coming in or going out of Harbour; and ſhall enjoy the ſame and as equally ample Freedom, Privileges and Immunities, both coming and going, and ſo long as they ſhall reſide in the Country, as alſo in fiſhing, trading, or in any other manner which any other People of a Foreign Nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foreſaid Kingdoms, and throughout the whole Dominions of the ſaid King of *Denmark* and *Norway*: Which Privileges alſo the Subjects of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway* ſhall equally enjoy throughout all the Territories and Dominions of the *Republick* of *England*.

The Council of State of the Republick of England, *to the most Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuscany, *Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

THe *Council of State* understanding, as well by your Highness's Agent here residing, as by *Charles Longland,* chief Factor for the *English* at *Leghorn,* with what Affection and Fidelity your Highness undertook the Protection of the *English* Vessels putting into the Port of *Leghorn* for shelter, against the *Dutch* Men of War threatning 'em with nothing but Ransack and Destruction, by their Letters of the 29*th* of *July* (which they hope are by this time come to your Highness's hands) have made known to your Highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to 'em; and at the same time sent to your *Serenity* a Declaration of the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England concerning the present Differences between this *Republick* and the *United Provinces.* And whereas the Council has again bin inform'd by the same *Charles Longland,* what further Commands your Highness gave for the security and defence of the *English* Vessels, notwithstanding the opposite endeavours of the *Dutch,* they deem'd this opportunity not to be pass'd over, to let your Highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your Justice and singular Constancy in defending their Vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of Service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid Friendship and Affection to this Republick, your Highness may assure your self, that the same Offices of Kindness and good Will towards your Highness shall never be wanting in us; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are re-

ſolv'd to cultivate both long and conſtantly, to the utmoſt of our Power, that Friendſhip which is between your *Serenity* and this Republick. In the mean time we have expreſly commanded all our Ships upon their entrance into your Ports, not to fail of paying the accuſtom'd Salutes by firing their Guns, and to give all other due Honours to your Highneſs.

White-Hall, Sept. — 1652.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd, *Preſident*.

To the Spaniſh *Embaſſador*, Alphonſo de Cardenas.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

YOur Excellency's Letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of *November* 1652, deliver'd by your Secretary, together with two Petitions inclos'd, concerning the Ships, the *Sampſon* and *San Salvadore*, were read in Council. To which the Council returns this Anſwer, That the *Engliſh* Man of War meeting with the aforeſaid Ships, not in the *Downs*, as your Excellency writes, but in the open Sea, brought 'em into Port as Enemies Ships, and therefore lawful Prize; and the Court of Admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all Cauſes of this nature, have undertaken to determin the Right in diſpute. Where all Parties concern'd on both ſides ſhall be fully and freely heard, and you may be aſſur'd that Right ſhall take place. We have alſo ſent your Excellency's requeſt to the Judges of that Court, to the end we may more certainly underſtand what progreſs they have made in their proceeding to Judgment. Of which ſo ſoon as we are rightly inform'd, we ſhall take care that ſuch Orders ſhall be given in this matter, as ſhall correſpond with Juſtice, and become the Friendſhip that is between

; Republick and your King. Nor are we leſs ıfident, that his Royal Majeſty will by no means mit the Goods of the Enemies of this Commonılth to be conceal'd, and eſcape due Confiſcation ler the ſhelter of being own'd by his Subjects.

White-Hall, Nov. 11. 1652.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd,
William Maſham, Preſident.

To the Spaniſh *Embaſſador*.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

ı Ut lately the Council has bin inform'd by Captain *Badiley*, Admiral of the Fleet of this *Repub-* in the *Streights*, that after he himſelf, together h three other Men of War, had for two days toher engag'd eleven of the *Dutch*, put into *Porto ıgone*, as well to repair the Damages he had re-'d in the Fight, as alſo to ſupply himſelf with ırlike Ammunition; where the Governour of the ce perform'd all the good Offices of a moſt juſt courteous Perſon, as well towards his own, as the of the Men of War under his Conduct. Now in ard that that ſame Place is under the Dominion he moſt Serene King of *Spain*, the *Council* canbut look upon the ſingular Civility of that Gariſon ɔe the copious fruit of that ſtricter mutual Amity uſpiciouſly commenc'd; and therefore deem it to ı part of their Duty to return their Thanks to his jeſty for a Kindneſs ſo opportunely receiv'd, and re your Excellency to ſignify this to your moſt ene King, and to aſſure him that the *Parlament he Commonwealth of* England will be always ready nake the ſame returns of Friendſhip and Civility ın all occaſions offer'd.

Veſtminſter, Nov. 11. 1652.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd,
William Maſham, Preſident.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

Moſt Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

THe *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England has receiv'd your Letters dated from *Florence, Auguſt* 17. concerning the reſtitution of a certain Ship laden with Rice, which Ship is claim'd by Captain *Cardi* of *Leghorn.* And though the Judges of our Admiralty have already pronounc'd Sentence in that Cauſe againſt the foreſaid *Cardi,* and that there be an Appeal depending before the Delegates; yet upon your Highneſs's Requeſt, the Parlament, to teſtify how much they value the good Will and Alliance of a Prince ſo much their Friend, have given order to thoſe who are entruſted with this Affair, that the ſaid Ship, together with the Rice, or at leaſt the full Price of it be reſtor'd to the foreſaid Captain *Cardi;* the fruit of which Command his Proctor here has effectually already reap'd. And as your Highneſs by favourably affording your Patronage and Protection to the Ships of the *Engliſh* in your Port of *Leghorn,* has in a more eſpecial manner ty'd the Parlament to your Serenity; ſo will they, on the other ſide, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their Offices of ſincere Friendſhip and good Will towards your Highneſs may be ſolidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your Highneſs to the Divine Benignity and Protection of the Almighty.

Weſtminſter, Nov. 1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and ſubſcrib'd, *Speaker,* &c.

'he Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the most Serene and Potent Prince, King of* Denmark, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

THe *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England have receiv'd Information from their Admiral that Fleet so lately sent to *Copenhagen*, your Ma-ty's Port, to convoy our Merchants homeward und, that the foresaid Ships are not permitted to urn along with him, as being detain'd by your Ma-ty's Command; and upon his producing your Royal tters declaring your Justifications of the matter of ct, the Parlament denies that the Reasons laid down those Letters for the detaining of those Ships are y way satisfactory to 'em. Therefore that some edy Remedy may be appli'd in a matter of so great ment, and so highly conducing to the prosperity both Nations, for preventing a greater perhaps en-ng mischief, the Parlament have sent their *Resident Hamborough*, *Richard Bradshaw*, Esquire, a Person great Worth and known Fidelity, with express mmands to treat with your Majesty, as their Agent o in *Denmark*, concerning this Affair: And there-e we entreat your Majesty to give him a favour-le Audience and ample Credit in whatever he shall pose to your Majesty on our behalf, in reference this matter; in the mean time recommending your ajesty to the Protection of Divine Providence.

Westminster, Nov. 6, 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, and in their Name, and by their Authority, subscrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the most Serene Prince the Duke of* Venice, *Greeting.*

THe *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England has receiv'd your Highness's Letters, dated *June* 1. 1652. and deliver'd by *Lorenzo Pallutio*, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial Inclinations of the Senate toward this Republick, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular Affection and good Will towards the most Serene Republick of *Venice;* which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means that shall be propounded to 'em for the preserving or encreasing mutual Friendship and Alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befal your Highness and the most Serene Republick.

Westminster, December, 1652.

Seal'd with the Parlament-Seal, and subscrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

The Parlament of the Republick of England, *to the most Serene Prince*, Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuscany, *Greeting.*

ALthough the Parlament of the Republick of *England* some time since redoubl'd their Commands to all the chief Captains and Masters of Ships arriving in the Ports belonging to your Highness, to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and Duty to a most Serene Prince, whose Friendship this Republick so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having bin oblig'd by so many great Kind-

neſſes; an Accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the Inſolence, as they hear, of Captain *Appleton* in the Port of *Leghorn*, who offer'd Violence to the Sentinel then doing his Duty upon the Mole, againſt the Faith and Duty which he owes his Republick, and in contempt of the Reverence and Honour which is juſtly owing to your Highneſs: the relation of which Action, as it was really committed, the Parlament has underſtood by your Letters of the *7th* and *9th* of *December*, dated from *Florence*; as alſo more at large by the moſt Worthy *Almeric Salvetti*, your Reſident here. And they have ſo ſincerely laid to heart your Highneſs's Honour, which is the main concern of this Complaint, that they have referr'd it to the *Council of State*, to take care that Letters be ſent to Capt. *Appleton*, to come away without ſtop or ſtay by Land, in order to his giving an Account of this unwonted and extraordinary Act (a Copy of which Letters is ſent herewith enclos'd) who ſo ſoon as he ſhall arrive, and be accus'd of the Fact, we promiſe that ſuch a courſe ſhall be taken with him, as may ſufficiently teſtify that we no leſs heinouſly brook the violation of your Right, than the infringement of our own Authority. Moreover, upon mature Debate concerning the recover'd Ship, call'd the *Phœnix* of *Leghorn*, which Affair is alſo related and preſs'd by your Highneſs and your Reſident here, to have bin done by Captain *Appleton*, contrary to promiſe given, whereby he was oblig'd not to fall upon even the *Hollanders* themſelves within ſight of the *Lanthorn*; and that your Highneſs, truſting to that Faith, promis'd ſecurity to the *Hollanders* upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who ſuffer damage under the Protection of your Promiſe; the Parlament begs of your Excellency to be aſſur'd, That this Fact, as it was committed without

their Advice or Command, ſo it is moſt remote from their Will and Intention that your Highneſs ſhould undergo any Detriment or Diminution of your Honour by it. Rather they will make it their buſineſs that ſome Expedient may be found out for your Satisfaction, according to the nature of the Fact upon Examination of the whole matter. Which that they may ſo much the more fully underſtand, they deem it neceſſary that Captain *Appleton* himſelf ſhould be heard, who was bound by the ſame Faith, and is thought by your Excellency at leaſt to have conſented to the violation of it; eſpecially ſince he is ſo ſuddenly to return home. And ſo ſoon as the Parlament has heard him, and have more at large conferr'd with your Reſident concerning this matter of no ſmall moment, they will pronounce that Sentence that ſhall be Juſt, and conſentaneous to that extream good-will which they bear to your Highneſs, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferr'd upon 'em. Of which, that your Highneſs might not make the leaſt queſtion in the mean time, we were willing to certify your Highneſs by this Expreſs on purpoſe ſent, that we ſhall omit no opportunity to teſtify how greatly we value your Friendſhip.

Weſtminſter, Decemb. 14. 1652.

Seal'd with the Parlament Seal, and Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

The Council of State of the Republick of England, *to the moſt Serene Prince*, Frederick, Heire *of* Norway, *Duke of* Sleſwick, Holſatia, Stormaria, Ditmarſh, *Count in* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhort, *Greeting*.

THough it has pleas'd the moſt wiſe God, and moſt merciful Moderator of all things, beſides the Burden which he laid upon us in common with

our Anceſtors, to wage moſt juſt Wars in defence of our Liberty againſt Tyrannical Uſurpation, ſignally alſo to ſuccour us with thoſe Auſpices and that Divine Aſſiſtance, beyond what he afforded to our Predeceſſors, that we have bin able not only to extinguiſh a Civil War, but to extirpate the Cauſes of it for the future, as alſo to repel the unexpected Violences of Foreign Enemies; nevertheleſs, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the ſame Favour and Benignity of the ſupreme Deity towards us, we are not ſo puft up with the ſucceſs of our Affairs, but that rather inſtructed in the ſingular Juſtice and Providence of God, and having had long experience our ſelves, we abominate the thoughts of War, if poſſible to be avoided, and moſt eagerly embrace Peace with all men. Therefore as hitherto we never were the firſt that violated or deſir'd the violation of that Friendſhip, or thoſe antient Privileges of Leagues that have bin ratify'd between us and any Princes or People whatever; ſo your Highneſs, in conſideration of your antient Amity with the *Engliſh*, left us by our Anceſtors, may with a moſt certain Aſſurance, promiſe both your ſelf and your People all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Laſtly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is juſt and reaſonable, the teſtimonies of your Affection and good Offices offer'd us, ſo we ſhall make it our buſineſs that you may not at any time be ſenſible of the want of ours, either to your ſelf or yours. And so we moſt heartily recommend your Highneſs to the Omnipotent Protection of the Almighty God.

Whitehall, July — 1653.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and Subſcrib'd, *Preſident*.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

THe *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England have receiv'd an extraordinary Congratulation from your Excellency, moſt kindly and courteouſly deliver'd to us by word of mouth by *Herman Mylius*, your Counſellor and Doctor of Laws; who wiſh'd all things lucky and proſperous, in your Name, to the Parlament and *Engliſh* Intereſt, and deſir'd that the Friendſhip of this Republick might remain inviolable within your Territories. He alſo deſir'd Letters of ſafe Conduct, to the end your Subjects may the more ſecurely trade and ſail from place to place; together with our Orders to our public Miniſters abroad, to be aiding and aſſiſting to your Excellency and your Intereſts with their good Offices and Counſels. To which Requeſts of his we willingly conſented, and granted both our Friendſhip, the Letters deſir'd, and our Orders to our Publick Miniſters under the Seal of the Parliament. And though it be ſome Months ago ſince your Publick Miniſter firſt came to us, however that delay neither aroſe from any unwillingneſs on our part to aſſent to the requeſt made in your Excellency's Name, or that your Deputy was at any time wanting in his Sedulity (whoſe Solicitations were daily and earneſt with all the Diligence and Importunity that became him, to the end he might be diſpatch'd) but only it happen'd ſo, that at that time the greateſt and moſt weighty affairs of the Republick were under Debate and ſerious Negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your Illuſtrious Lordſhip, leſt any body through a falſe conſtruction of this delay, ſhould think thoſe Favours unwillingly or hardly obtain'd, which were

›ſt gladly granted by the Parlament of the Com-
›nwealth of *England*. In whoſe Name theſe are
nmanded to be Sign'd,

Henry Scobel, Clerk of the Parlament.

the moſt Illuſtrious and Noble Senators, Scultets, Landam, *and Senators of the Evangelick Cantons of* Switzerland, Zurick, Bern, Glaris, Bale, Schaff-huſen, Appenzel, *alſo of the Confederates of the ſame Religion in the Country of the* Griſons, *of* Ge-neva, St. Gall, Mulhauſen *and* Bienne; *our deareſt Friends*.

7 Our Letters, moſt Illuſtrious Lords and deareſt . Confederates, dated *December* 24. full of civility, ›d-will, and ſingular affection towards us and our publick, and what ought always to be greater and ›re ſacred to us, breathing Fraternal and truly ›riſtian Charity, we have receiv'd. And in the t place we return Thanks to Almighty God, who › rais'd and eſtabliſh'd both you and ſo many noble *ties*, not ſo much intrench'd and fortifi'd with thoſe :loſures of Mountains, as with your innate For-›de, Piety, moſt prudent and juſt Adminiſtration Government, and the Faith of mutual Confede-:ies, to be a firm and inacceſſible ſhelter for all the ›ly Orthodox. Now then that you, who over all *›rope* were the firſt of Mortals who after deluges barbarous Tyrants from the North, Heaven proſ-ring your Valour, recover'd your Liberty, and being ›tain'd, for ſo many Years have preſerv'd it untainted ›th no leſs Prudence and Moderation; that you ›ould have ſuch noble ſentiments of our Liberty re-ver'd; that you, ſuch ſincere Worſhippers of the ›ſpel, ſhould be ſo conſtantly perſwaded of our ›ve and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, is that

which is moſt acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to Peace, with a Pious and Affectionate intent, as we are fully aſſur'd, certainly ſuch an Admonition ought to be of great weight with us; as well in reſpect of the thing it ſelf which you perſwade, and which of all things is chiefly to be deſir'd, as alſo for the great Authority which is to be allow'd your Lordſhips above others in this particular, who in the midſt of loud tumultuous Wars on every ſide, enjoy the ſweets of Peace both at home and abroad, and have approv'd your ſelves the beſt example to all others of embracing and improving Peace; and laſtly, for that you perſwade us to the very thing which we our ſelves of our own accords, and that more than once, conſulting as well our own, as the intereſt of the whole Evangelical Communion, have begg'd by Embaſſadors, and other publick Miniſters, namely, Friendſhip and a moſt ſtrict League with the *United Provinces*. But how they treated our Embaſſadors ſent to 'em to negotiate, not a bare Peace, but a brotherly Amity and moſt ſtrict League; what Provocations to War they afterwards gave us, how they fell upon us in our own Roads in the midſt of their Embaſſadors Negotiations for Peace and Alliance, little dreaming any ſuch Violence, you will abundantly underſtand by our Declaration ſet forth upon this ſubject, and ſent you together with theſe our Letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's Aſſiſtance, though proſperous hitherto, ſo to carry our ſelves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own Strength or Forces, but all things to God alone, nor be inſolently puft up with our Succeſs; and we ſtill retain the ſame ready Inclinations to embrace all occaſions of making a juſt and honeſt Peace. In the mean time your ſelves, *Illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lords*, in whom this pious and noble Sedulity, out of meer Evangelical Affection, exerts it ſelf to reconcile and

acify contending Brethren, as ye are worthy of all pplauſe among men, ſo doubtleſs will ye obtain the Celeſtial Reward of Peace-makers with God; to whoſe ſupreme Benignity and Favour we heartily recommend in our Prayers both you and yours, no leſs ready to make returns of all good Offices both of Friends and Brethren, if in any thing we may be ſerviceable to your Lordſhips.

Weſtminſter, Octob. 1653.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

To the Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

UPon grievous Complaints brought before us by *Philip Noel, John Godal,* and the Society of Merchants of *Foy* in *England,* that a certain Ship of theirs call'd the *Ann* of *Foy,* an *Engliſh* Ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to the Port of *Foy* about *Michaelmas* laſt, was unjuſtly, and without any cauſe ſet upon and taken by a certain Privateer of *Oſtend, Eraſmus Bruer* Commander, and the Seamen unworthily and barbarouſly us'd: The Council of State wrote to the Marquis of *Leda* concerning it (a Copy of which Letter we alſo ſend enclos'd to your Excellency) and expected from him, that without delay Orders would have bin given for the doing of Juſtice in this matter. Nevertheleſs after all this, the foreſaid *Noel,* together with the ſaid Company make further heavy Complaint, that altho our Letters were deliver'd to the Marqueſs, and that thoſe Merchants from that time forward betook themſelves to *Bruges* to the Court there held for Maritim Cauſes, and there aſſerted and prov'd their Right, and the Verity of their Cauſe, yet that Juſtice was deni'd 'em; and that they were hardly dealt with, that though the Cauſe had bin

ripe for Trial above three Months, nevertheleſs they could obtain no Sentence from that Court, but that their Ship and Goods are ſtill detain'd, notwithſtanding the great Expences they have bin at in proſecuting their Claim. Now your Excellency well knows it to be contrary to the Law of Nations, of Traffick, and that Friendſhip which is at preſent ſettl'd between the *Engliſh* and *Flemings*, that any *Oſtender* ſhould take any *Engliſh* Veſſel, if bound for *England* with *Engliſh* Goods; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarouſly done to the *Engliſh* Seamen by that Commander, deſerves a rigorous Puniſhment. The Council therefore recommends the whole matter to your Excellency, and makes it their requeſt that you would write into *Flanders* concerning it, and take ſuch ſpeedy care that this buſineſs may no longer be delay'd, but that Juſtice may be done in ſuch a manner that the foreſaid Ship, together with the Damages, Coſts and Intereſt, which the *Engliſh* have ſuſtain'd and bin out of Purſe, by reaſon of that illegal Seizure, may be reſtor'd and made good to 'em by the Authority of the Court, or in ſome other way; and that care be taken that hereafter no ſuch Violence may be committed, but that the Amity between our People and the *Flemings* may be preſerv'd without any Infringment.

Sign'd in the Name, and by the Command of the Council of State, appointed by Authority of Parlament.

To the Marquiſs of Leda.

GReat Complaints are brought before us by *Philip Noel*, *John Godal*, and the Company of *Foy* Merchants, concerning a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Ann* of *Foy*, which being an *Engliſh* Veſſel by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in

her return home to her own Port about *Michaelmas* last, was taken unawares by a Freebooter of *Ostend*, *Erasmus Bruer* Commander. It is also further related, that the *Ostenders*, when the Ship was in their Power, us'd the Seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted Match to their Fingers, and plunging the Master of the Ship in the Sea till they had almost drown'd him, on purpose to extort a false Confession from him, that the Ship and Goods belong'd to the *French*. Which though the Master and the rest of the Ships Crew resolutely deni'd, nevertheless the *Ostenders* carri'd away the Ship and Goods to their own Port. These things, upon strict enquiry and examination of Witnesses, have bin made manifest in the *Admiralty Court* in *England*, as will appear by the Copies of the *Affidavits* herewith sent your Lordship. Now in regard that that same Ship, call'd the *Ann* of *Foy*, and all her lading of Merchandize and Goods belong only and properly to the *English*, so that there is no apparent reason why the *Ostender* should seize by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the Master of the Ship, and use the Seamen so unmercifully: and whereas according to the Law of Nations, and in respect to the Friendship between the *Flemings* and *English*, that Ship and Goods ought to be restor'd, we make it our earnest request to your Excellency, that the *English* may have speedy Justice done, and that Satisfaction may be given for their losses, to the end the Traffick and Friendship which is between the *English* and *Flemings* may be long and inviolably preserv'd.

To the Spanish *Embassador*.

THe Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, understanding that several of the People of this City daily resort to the Houses of your Ex-

cellency and other Embaſſadors and Publick Miniſters from Foreign Nations here reſiding, meerly to hear Maſs, gave Order to the *Council of State* to let your Excellency underſtand, That whereas ſuch Reſort is prohibited by the Laws of the Nation, and of very evil Example in this our Republick, and extreamly ſcandalous, that they deem it their duty to take care that no ſuch thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all ſuch Aſſemblies for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our deſire that your Excellency ſhould have a fair Advertiſment, to the end that henceforth your Excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the People of this Republick to hear Maſs in your Houſe. And as the Parlament will diligently provide that your Excellencies Rights and Privileges ſhall be preſerv'd inviolable, ſo they perſwade themſelves that your Excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the Laws of this Republick ſhould be violated by your ſelf or your Attendants.

A Summary of the particular real Damages ſuſtain'd by the Engliſh *Company, in many Places of the* Eaſt-Indies, *from the* Dutch *Company in* Holland.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. THe Damages comprehended in the ſixteen Articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 Royals ½, which is of our Money	74638	15	0
2. We demand Satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the Iſland of *Pularon*, from the year 1622. to this time, of two hundred thouſand Royals ½, beſides			

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
e future Expence, till the right Jurisdiction over that Island be tor'd in the same Condition as ien it was wrested out of our inds, as was by League agreed amounting of our Money to .	50000	0	0
3. We demand Satisfaction for the Merchandize, Provision and rniture taken away by the ents of the *Dutch* Company in *Indies*, or to them deliver'd, to any of their Ships bound her, or returning home; which n amounts to 80635 Royals, of Money	20158	0	0
1. We demand Satisfaction for Customs of *Dutch* Merchan- : laden on board their Ships in *sia*, or landed there from the r 1624, as was granted us by King of *Persia*, which we can- value at less than fourscore isand Royals	2000	0	0
. We demand Satisfaction for · Houses maliciously and un- ly burnt at *Jocatra*, together 1 the Warehouses, Magazines Furniture, occasion'd by the *ch* Governor there, of all ch we had Information from Place it self, after we had ex- ted our first Complaints; the al of which Damage we value	50000	0	0
. We demand Satisfaction for 99 pound of Pepper taken out			

Letters

Written in the Name of OLIVER

The PROTECTOR.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

BY your Letters dated *January* 20, 1654. I have bin given to underſtand, That the noble *Frederick Matthias Woliſog*, and *Chriſtopher Griphiander* were ſent with certain Commands from your Illuſtrious Lordſhip into *England;* who when they came to us, not only in your Name congratulated our having taken upon us the Government of the *Engliſh* Republick, but alſo deſir'd that you and your Territories might be comprehended in the Peace which we are about to make with the *Low-Countries*, and that we would confirm by our preſent Authority the Letters of ſafe Conduct lately granted your Lordſhip by the Parlament. Therefore in the firſt place we return your Lordſhip our hearty thanks for your friendly Congratulation, as it becomes us; and theſe will let you know that we have readily granted your two Requeſts. Nor ſhall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifeſt our Affection to your Lordſhip. And this we are apt to believe you will underſtand more at large from your Agents, whoſe Fidelity and Diligence in this Affair of yours, in our Court, has bin eminently con-

ſpicuous. As to what remains, we moſt heartily wiſh the Bleſſings of Proſperity and Peace, both upon you and your Affairs.

Your Illuſtrious Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver
Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

WE receiv'd your Letters, dated *May* 2. from *Oldenburgh*, moſt welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of ſingular Civility and Good-wil towards us, as becauſe they were deliver'd by the hand of the moſt Illuſtrious Count *Antony*, your beloved Son; which we look upon as ſo much the greater Honour, as not having truſted to Report, but with our own Eyes, and by our own Obſervation diſcern'd his Vertues becoming ſuch an illuſtrious Extraction, his noble Manners and Inclinations, and laſtly his extraordinary Affection toward our ſelves. Nor is it to be queſtion'd but he diſplays to his own People the ſame fair hopes at home, that he will approve himſelf the Son of a moſt worthy and moſt excellent Father, whoſe ſignal Vertue and Prudence has all along ſo manag'd Affairs, that the whole Territory of *Oldenburgh* for many years has enjoy'd a profound Peace, and all the bleſſings of Tranquillity in the midſt of the raging confuſions of War thundring on every ſide. What reaſon therefore why we ſhould not value ſuch a Friendſhip that can ſo wiſely and providently ſhun the Enmity of all men? Laſtly, Moſt Illuſtrious Lord, 'tis for your Magnificent *Preſent that we return you Thanks;

* The Horſes which threw him out of the Coach-box.

but 'tis of Right, and your Merits claim, that we are cordially

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Westminster, June 29. 1654.

Superscrib'd, *To the most Illustrious Lord*, Antony Gunther, *Count in* Oldenburgh, *and* Delmenhorst, *Lord in* Jehvern *and* Kniphausen.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the most Serene Prince* Charles Gustavus *King of the* Sweeds, Goths, *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *Duke of* Esthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin *in* Pomerania, Cassubia *and* Vandalia; *Prince of* Rugia, *Lord of* Ingria, Wismaria; *as also Count* Palatine *of the* Rhine, *and Duke of* Bavaria, Cleves, *and* Monts, *&c. Greeting.*

Most Serene King,

THough it be already divulg'd over all the World that the Kingdom of the *Swedes* is translated to your Majesty with the extraordinary Applause and Desires of the People, and the free Suffrages of all the Orders of the Realm; yet that your Majesty should rather chuse that we should understand the welcome News by your most friendly Letters, than by the common voice of Fame, we thought no small Argument both of your good will toward us, and of the Honour done us among the first. Voluntarily therefore, and of Right we congratulate this accession of Dignity to your egregious Merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much Vertue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your Majesty, to the Nation of the *Swedes*, and the true Christian Interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint

Supplications we implore of God. And whereas your Majesty assures us, That the preserving entire the League and Alliance lately concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Sweden* shall be so far your care, that the present Amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but if possible, every day encrease and grow to a higher Perfection, to call it into question, would be a piece of Impiety, after the Word of so great a Prince once interpos'd, whose surpassing Fortitude has not only purchas'd your Majesty a hereditary Kingdom in a Foreign Land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august Queen, the Daughter of *Gustavus*, and a Heroess so matchless in all degrees of Praise and masculine Renown, that many Ages backward have not produc'd her equal, surrender'd the most just possession of her Empire to your Majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore 'tis our main desire, your Majesty should be every way assur'd, that your so singular Affection toward us, and so eminent a signification of your Mind can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no Combat can offer it self to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in outdoing your Majesty's Civility by our kind Offices that never shall be wanting.

Westminster, July 4. 1654.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

To the most Illustrious Lord, Lewis Mendez *de* Haro.

WHat we have understood by your Letters, most Illustrious Lord, that there is an Embassador already nominated and appointed by the most Serene

King of *Spain*, on purpoſe to come and congratulate our having undertaken the Government of the Republick, is not only deſervedly acceptable of it ſelf, but render'd much more welcome and pleaſing to us by your ſingular Affection, and the ſpeed of your Civility, as being deſirous we ſhould underſtand it firſt of all from your ſelf. For, to be ſo belov'd and approv'd by your Lordſhip, who by your Vertue and Prudence have obtain'd ſo great Authority with your Prince, as to preſide, his equal in Mind, over all the moſt important Affairs of that Kingdom, ought to be ſo much the more pleaſing to us, as well underſtanding that the Judgment of a ſurpaſſing Perſon cannot but be much to our Honour and Ornament. Now as to our cordial Inclinations toward the King of *Spain*, and ready Propenſity to hold Friendſhip with that Kingdom, and encreaſe it to a ſtricter Perfection, we hope we have already ſatisfi'd the preſent Embaſſador, and ſhall more amply ſatisfy the other ſo ſoon as he arrives. As to what remains, *Moſt Illuſtrious Lord*, we heartily wiſh the Dignity and Favour wherein you now flouriſh with your Prince, perpetual to your Lordſhip; and that whatever Affairs you carry on for the Publick Good, may proſperouſly and happily ſucceed.

Whitehall, Sept. 1654.

Your Illuſtrious Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate
Oliver, &c.

To the moſt Serene Prince Charles Guſtavus Adolphus, *King of the* Sweeds, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

BEing ſo well aſſur'd of your Majeſty's good Will towards me by your laſt Letters, in anſwer to which I wrote back with the ſame Affection, methinks I ſhould do no more than what our mutual

Amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful Tidings to reciprocal Joy, ſo when contrary Accidents fall out, that I ſhould lay open the Senſe and Grief of my Mind to your Majeſty, as my deareſt Friend. For my part this is my Opinion of my ſelf, That I am now advanc'd to this degree in the Commonwealth, to the end I ſhould conſult in the firſt place, and as much as in me lies, the common Peace of Proteſtants. Which is the reaſon, that of neceſſity it behoves me more grievouſly to lay to heart what we are ſorry to hear concerning the bloody Conflicts and mutual Slaughters of the *Bremeners* and *Swedes*. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our Friends, they ſhould ſo deſpitefully combat one againſt another, and with ſo much danger to the Intereſts of the Proteſtants; and that the Peace of *Munſter*, which was thought would have prov'd an Aſylum and Safeguard to all the Proteſtants, ſhould be the occasion of ſuch an unfortunate War, that now the Arms of the *Sweeds* are turn'd upon thoſe whom but a little before, among the reſt, they moſt ſtoutly defended for Religion's ſake; and that this ſhould be done more eſpecially at this time when the Papiſts are ſaid to perſecute the Reformed all over *Germany*, and to return to their intermitted for ſome time Oppreſſions, and their priſtin Violencies. Hearing therefore that a Truce for ſome days was made at *Breme*, I could not forbear ſignifying to your Majeſty, upon this opportunity offer'd, how cordially I deſire, and how earneſtly I implore the God of Peace, that this Truce may prove ſucceſsfully happy for the Good of both Parties, and that it may conclude in a moſt firm Peace, by a commodious Accommodation on both Sides. To which purpoſe, if your Majeſty judges that my Aſſiſtance may any ways conduce, I moſt willingly offer and promiſe it, as in a thing, without Queſtion, moſt acceptable to the moſt Holy God. In

the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beſeech the Almighty to direct and govern all your Counſels for the common Welfare of the Chriſtian Intereſt, which I make no doubt but that your Majeſty chiefly deſires.

Whitehall, Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

To the Magnificent and moſt Noble, the Conſuls and Senators of the City of Breme.

BY your Letters deliver'd to us by your Reſident *Henry Oldenburgh*, that there is a difference kindled between your City and a moſt potent Neighbour, and to what ſtraits you are thereby reduc'd, with ſo much the more Trouble and Grief we underſtand, by how much the more we love and embrace the City of *Breme*, ſo eminent, above others, for their Profeſſion of the Orthodox Faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more ſacred in our wiſhes, than that the whole Proteſtant Name would knit and grow together in brotherly Unity and Concord. In the mean time, moſt certain it is, that the common Enemy of the Reformed rejoices at theſe our Diſſenſions, and more haughtily every where exerts his Fury. But in regard the Controverſie which at preſent exerciſes your contending Arms, is not within the power of our deciſion, we implore the Almighty God, that the Truce begun may obtain a happy iſſue. Aſſuredly, as to what you deſir'd, we have written to the King of the *Swedes*, exhorting him to Peace and Agreement, as being moſt chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offer'd our Aſſiſtance in ſo pious a Work. On the other ſide we likewiſe exhort your ſelves to bear an equal Mind, and by no means to

refuſe any honeſt Conditions of Reconciliation. And ſo we recommend your City to Divine Protection and Providence.

Whitehall, Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Republick of* England, *To the moſt Illuſtrious Prince of* Tarentum.

YOur Love of Religion apparently made known in your Letters to us deliver'd, and your excelling Piety and ſingular Affection to the Reformed Churches, more eſpecially conſidering the Nobility and Splendor of your Character, and in a Kingdom too wherein there are ſo many and ſuch abounding hopes propos'd to all of eminent Quality that revolt from the Orthodox Faith, ſo many Miſeries to be undergone by the reſolute and conſtant, gave us an occaſion of great Joy and Conſolation of Mind. Nor was it leſs grateful to us, that we had gain'd your good Opinion, upon the ſame account of Religion, which ought to render your Highneſs moſt chiefly belov'd and dear to our ſelves. We call God to witneſs, That whatever hopes or expectations the Churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them ſatisfaction, if need require, or at leaſt to demonſtrate to all Men how much it is our deſire never to fail 'em. Nor ſhould we think any fruit of our Labours, or of this Dignity or Supream Employment which we hold in our Republick, greater than that we might be in a condition to be ſerviceable to the Enlargement, or the Welfare, or which is more ſacred, to the Peace of the Reformed Church. In the mean time, we exhort

and beſeech your Lordſhip to remain ſtedfaſt to the laſt minute in the Orthodox Religion, with the ſame Reſolution and Conſtancy as you profeſs it receiv'd from your Anceſtors with Piety and Zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy your ſelf, or your religious Parents, nor in conſideration of what you have deſerv'd of us, though we wiſh all things for your own ſake that we can wiſh more noble or advantagious to your Lordſhip, than that you would take ſuch Methods, and apply your ſelf to ſuch Studies, that the Churches, eſpecially of your Native Country, under the Diſcipline of which your Birth and Genius have render'd you Illuſtrioufly happy, may be ſenſible of ſo much the more aſſur'd Security in your Protection, by how much you excel others in Luſtre and Ability.

Whitehall, April —, 1654.

Oliver, *the Protector*, &c. *To the moſt Serene Prince*, Immanuel *Duke of* Savoy, *Prince of* Piedmont, *Greeting*.

Moſt Serene Prince,

LEtters have been ſent us from *Geneva*, as alſo from the *Dauphinate*, and many other Places bordering upon your Territories, wherein we are given to underſtand, That ſuch of your Royal Highneſs's Subjects as profeſs the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your Edict, and by your Authority, within three days after the Promulgation of your Edict, to depart their native Seats and Habitations, upon pain of capital Puniſhment, and Forfeiture of all their Fortunes and Eſtates, unleſs they will give Security to relinquiſh their Religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman Catholick Faith. And that when they apply'd themſelves to your Royal

Highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a Revocation of the said Edict, and that being receiv'd into pristin favour, they might be restor'd to the Liberty granted 'em by your Predecessors, a part of your Army fell upon 'em, most cruelly slew several, put others in Chains, and compell'd the rest to fly into desert Places, and to the Mountains cover'd with Snow, where some hundreds of Families are reduc'd to such Distress, that 'tis greatly to be fear'd they will in a short time all miserably perish through Cold and Hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not chuse but be touch'd with extream Grief and Compassion for the Sufferings and Calamities of this afflicted People. Now in regard we must acknowledg our selves link'd together not only by the same type of Humanity, but by joynt Communion of the same Religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our Duty to God, to brotherly Charity, or our Profession of the same Religion, if we should only be affected with a bare Sorrow for the Misery and Calamity of our Brethren, and not contribute all our Endeavours to relieve and succour 'em in their unexpected Adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal Highness, that you would call back to your Thoughts the Moderation of your most serene Predecessors, and the Liberty by them granted and confirm'd from time to time to their Subjects the *Vaudois*. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleas'd to reserve the Jurisdiction and Power over the Conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their Subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in War, and always obedient in Peace. And as your Royal *Serenity* in other things most laudably

follows the Footſteps of your immortal Anceſtors, ſo we again and again beſeech your Royal Highneſs not to ſwerve from the Path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchſafe to abrogate both this Edict, and whatſoever elſe may be decreed to the Diſturbance of your Subjects upon the account of the Reform'd Religion; that you would ratify to 'em their conceded Privileges and priſtin Liberty, and command their Loſſes to be repair'd, and that an end be put to their Oppreſſions. Which if your Royal Highneſs ſhall be pleas'd to ſee perform'd, you will do a thing moſt acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miſerable in dire Calamity, and moſt highly oblige all your Neighbours that profeſs the Reformed Religion, but more eſpecially our ſelves, who ſhall be bound to look upon your Clemency and Benignity towards your Subjects, as the fruit of our earneſt Solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good Offices, and lay the ſolid Foundations not only of eſtabliſhing, but encreaſing Alliance and Friendſhip between this Republick and your Dominions. Nor do we leſs promiſe this to our ſelves from your Juſtice and Moderation; to which we beſeech Almighty God to encline your Mind and Thoughts. And ſo we cordially implore juſt Heaven to beſtow upon your Highneſs and your People the Bleſſings of Peace and Truth, and proſperous Succeſs in all your Affairs.

Whitehall, May – , 1655.

Oliver, *Protector of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince of* Tranſilvania, *Greeting*.

Moſt Serene Prince,

BY your Letters of the 16*th* of *November*, 1654. you have made us ſenſible of your ſingular good Will and Affection toward us; and your *Envoy*, who

ver'd thoſe Letters to us, more amply declar'd
r deſire of contracting Alliance and Friendſhip
h us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little
yce at this Opportunity offer'd us to declare and
:e manifeſt our Affection to your Highneſs, and
' great a value we juſtly ſet upon your Perſon.
after ſame had reported to us your egregious
its and Labours undertaken in behalf of the
iſtian Republick, when you were pleas'd that all
: things, and what you have farther in your
ughts to do in the defence and for promoting
Chriſtian Intereſt, ſhould be in friendly manner
ırted to us by Letters from your ſelf, this afforded
more plentiful occaſion of Joy and Satisfaction,
ear that God, in thoſe remoter Regions, had
l up to himſelf ſo potent and renowned a Miniſter
is Glory and Providence: And that this great
iſter of Heaven, ſo fam'd for his Courage and
eſs, ſhould be deſirous to aſſociate with us in the
mon Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, at this
wickedly aſſail'd by Words and Deeds. Nor is
be queſtion'd but that God, who has infus'd into
ɔth, though ſeparated by ſuch a ſpacious Interval
ıany Climates, the ſame Deſires and Thoughts
efending the Orthodox Religion, will be our
uctor and Author of the ways and means whereby
nay be aſſiſtant and uſeful to our ſelves and the
ɔf the Reformed Cities, provided we watch all
ortunities that God ſhall put into our hands, and
ot wanting to lay hold of 'em. In the mean
we cannot without an extream and penetrating
ɔw forbear putting your Highneſs in mind how
ercifully the Duke of *Savoy* has perſecuted his
Subjects, profeſſing the Orthodox Faith, in cer-
Valleys, at the feet of the *Alps*. Whom he has
ɔnly conſtrain'd by a moſt ſevere Edict, as many
fuſe to embrace the Catholick Religion, to for-

ſake their native Habitations, Goods and Eſtates, but has fall'n upon 'em with his Army, put ſeveral moſt cruelly to the Sword, others more barbarouſly tormented to Death, and driven the greateſt number to the Mountains, there to be conſum'd with Cold and Hunger, expoſing their Houſes to the Fury, and their Goods to the Plunder of his Executioners. Theſe things, as they have already been related to your Highneſs, ſo we readily aſſure our ſelves, that ſo much Cruelty cannot but be grievouſly diſpleaſing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your Aid and Succour to thoſe miſerable Wretches, if there be any that ſurvive ſo many Slaughters and Calamities. For our parts, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, beſeeching him to remove his incens'd Anger from his Subjects; as alſo to the King of *France*, that he would vouchſafe to do the ſame; and laſtly, to the Princes of the Reformed Religion, to the end they might underſtand our Sentiments concerning ſo fierce and ſavage a piece of Cruelty. Which though firſt begun upon thoſe poor and helpleſs People, however threatens all that profeſs the ſame Religion, and therefore impoſes upon all a greater neceſſity of providing for themſelves in general, and conſulting the common Safety; which is the Courſe that we ſhall always follow, as God ſhall be pleas'd to direct us. Of which your Highneſs may be aſſur'd, as alſo of our Sincerity and Affection to your Serenity, whereby we are engag'd to wiſh all proſperous Succeſs to your Affairs, and a happy iſſue of all your Enterprizes and Endeavours, in aſſerting the Liberty of the Goſpel, and the Worſhippers of it.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

Oliver *Protector, to the most Serene Prince,* Charles Gustavus Adolphus, *King of the* Swedes, *Greeting.*

WE make no question but that the fame of that most rigid Edict has reach'd your Dominions; whereby the Duke of *Savoy* has totally ruin'd his Protestant Subjects inhabiting the *Alpine* Valleys, and commanded 'em to be exterminated from their native Seats and Habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their Religion receiv'd from their Forefathers, in exchange for the *Roman* Catholick Superstition, and that within twenty days at fartheſt; so that many being kill'd, the rest stript to their Skins, and expos'd to most certain Destruction, are now forc'd to wander over desert Mountains, and through perpetual Winter, together with their Wives and Children, half dead with Cold and Hunger: and that your Majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious Sorrow and compassionate Consideration we as little doubt. For that the Protestant Name and Cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little Consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common Interest, the hatred of our Adversaries, alike incens'd against Protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the Kings of the *Swedes* have always joyn'd with the Reformed, carrying their Victorious Arms into *Germany* in defence of the Protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief Request, and that in a more especial manner to your Majesty, that you would solicit the Duke of *Savoy* by Letters, and by interposing your intermediating Authority, endeavour to avert the horrid Cruelty of this Edict, if possible, from People no

leſs Innocent than Religious. For we think it ſuperfluous to admoniſh your Majeſty whither theſe rigorous Beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the Proteſtants in general. But if he rather chuſe to liſten to his Anger, than to our joint Intreaties and Interceſſions; if there be any Tye, any Charity or Communion of Religion to be believ'd and regarded, upon Conſultations duly firſt communicated to your Majeſty, and the chief of the Proteſtant Princes, ſome other courſe is to be ſpeedily taken, that ſuch a numerous multitude of our innocent Brethren may not miſerably periſh for want of Succour and Aſſiſtance. Which in regard we make no queſtion but that it is your Majeſty's Opinion and Determination, there can be nothing in our Opinion more prudently reſolv'd, than to joyn our Reputation, Authority, Counſels, Forces, and whatever elſe is needful, with all the ſpeed that may be, in purſuance of ſo pious a Deſign. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty.

Oliver *Protector*, &c. *to the High and Mighty Lords the States of the* United Provinces.

WE make no queſtion but that you have already bin inform'd of the Duke of *Savoy's* Edict, ſet forth againſt his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys at the feet of the *Alps*, ancient Profeſſors of the Orthodox Faith; by which Edict they are commanded to abandon their Native Habitations, ſtript of all their Fortunes, unleſs within twenty days they embrace the *Roman Faith*; and with what Cruelty the Authority of this Edict has rag'd againſt a needy and harmleſs People, many being ſlain by the Soldiers, the reſt plunder'd and driven from their Houſes, together with their Wives and Children, to combat

Cold and Hunger among desert Mountains, and perpetual Snow. These things with what commotion of Mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the Calamities of Brethren pierc'd your Breasts, we readily conjecture from the depth of our own Sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engag'd together by the same Tye of Religion, no wonder we should be so deeply mov'd with the same Affections upon the dreadful and undeserved Sufferings of our Brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous Piety and Charity toward the Orthodox, wherever overborn and oppress'd, has bin frequently experienc'd in the most urging Straits and Calamities of the Churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in Good-will and Charity toward Brethren of the same Religion, afflicted and wrong'd in their quiet Enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the Peace and Safety of the Churches before my particular Interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our Power, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, even almost to Supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his Breast more placid Thoughts and kinder Effects of his Favour toward his most Innocent Subjects and Suppliants; that he would restore the Miserable to their Habitations and Estates, and grant 'em their pristine Freedom in the Exercise of their Religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest Princes and Magistrates of the *Protestants*, whom we thought most nearly concern'd in these Matters, that they would lend us their Assistance to intreat and pacify the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf. And we make no doubt but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a Precedent, and lately renew'd Severity of utmost Cruelty toward the Re-

formed, if the Authors of it meet with prosperous Success, to what apparent Dangers it reduces our Religion, we need not admonish your Prudence. On the other side, If the Duke shall once but permit himself to be aton'd, and won by our united Applications, not only our afflicted Brethren, but we our selves shall reap the noble and abounding Harvest and reward of this laborious Undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate Resolutions of reducing to utmost Extremity those People, among whom our Religion was either disseminated by the first Doctors of the Gospel, and preserv'd from the Defilement of Superstition, or else restor'd to its pristine Sincerity long before other Nations obtain'd that Felicity, and determines their utter Extirpation and Destruction; we are ready to take such other Course and Counsels with your selves, in common with the rest of our Reformed Friends and Confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of Just and Good Men, upon the brink of inevitable Ruin; and to make the Duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy Oppressions and Calamities of our Orthodox Brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelick Cities of Switzerland.

WE make no question but the late Calamity of the *Piemontois*, professing our Religion, reached your Ears before the unwelcome News of it arriv'd with us: Who being a People under the protection and jurisdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and by a severe Edict of their Prince commanded to depart their Native Habitations, unless within three days they gave Security to embrace the *Roman* Religion, soon after were assail'd by armed Violence, that turn'd their Dwellings into Slaughter-houses,

while others, without Number, were terrifi'd into Banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without House or Home, or any Covering from the Weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert Mountains, and depths of Snow, together with their Wives and Children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that so soon as they came to your knowledg, you laid these things to heart, with a Compassion no less sensible of their multipli'd Miseries, than our selves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next Neighbours to the Sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, of your Constancy in retaining it, and your Fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the more strict Communion of Religion, that you, together with our selves, are all Brethren alike, or rather one Body with those unfortunate People, of which no Member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your Lordships concerning this Matter, and let you understand how much we believe it to be the general Interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common Aid and Succour, to relieve our exterminated and indigent Brethren; and not only to take care for removing their Miseries and Afflictions, but also to provide that the Mischief spread no farther, nor incroach upon our selves in general, encourag'd by Example and Success. We have written Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted Clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful Subjects, and to restore 'em, almost ruin'd as they are, to their Goods and Habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our Intreaties, or rather by the united Intercessions of us

all, the moſt Serene Prince at length will be aton'd, and grant what we have requeſted with ſo much importunity. But if his Mind be obſtinately bent to other Determinations, we are ready to communicate our Conſultations with yours, by what moſt prevalent means to relieve and re-eſtabliſh moſt innocent Men, and our moſt dearly beloved Brethren in Chriſt, tormented and overlaid with ſo many Wrongs and Oppreſſions; and preſerve 'em from inevitable and undeſerved Ruin. Of whoſe Welfare and Safety, as I am aſſur'd, that you, according to your wonted Piety, are moſt cordially tender; ſo, for our own parts, we cannot but in our Opinion prefer their Preſervation before our moſt important Intereſts, even the ſafeguard of our own Life. Farewel.

O. P.

Weſtminſter, May 19. 1655.

Superſcrib'd, To the moſt Illuſtrious and Potent Lords, the Conſuls and Senators of the Proteſtant Cantons and Confederate Cities of *Switzerland*, Greeting.

To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis *King of* France.

Moſt Serene and Potent King;

BY your Majeſty's Letters which you wrote in anſwer to ours of the 25*th* of *May*, we readily underſtand, that we fail'd not in our Judgment, that the inhuman Slaughter, and barbarous Maſſacres of thoſe Men who profeſs the Reformed Religion in *Savoy*, perpetrated by ſome of your Regiments, were the Effects neither of your Orders nor Commands. And it afforded us a ſingular occaſion of Joy, to hear that your Majeſty had ſo timely ſignifi'd to your Colonels and Officers, whoſe violent Precipitancy in-

gag'd 'em in thoſe inhuman Butcheries without the encouragement of lawful Allowance, how diſpleaſing they were to your Majeſty; that you had admoniſh'd the Duke himſelf to forbear ſuch Acts of Cruelty; and that you had interpos'd with ſo much Fidelity and Humanity, all the high Veneration paid you in that Court, your near Alliance and Authority, for reſtoring to their ancient Abodes thoſe unfortunate Exiles. And it was our hopes, That that Prince would in ſome meaſure have condeſcended to the good Pleaſure and Interceſſions of your Majeſty. But finding not any thing obtain'd, either by your own, nor the Intreaties and Importunities of other Princes in the Cauſe of the Diſtreſſed, we deem'd it not foreign from our Duty to ſend this Noble Perſon, under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy, to the Duke of *Savoy*, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply ſenſible we are of ſuch exaſperated Cruelties inflicted upon the Profeſſors of the ſame Religion with our ſelves, and all this too out of a hatred of the ſame Worſhip. And we have reaſon to hope a Succeſs of this Negotiation ſo much the more proſperous, if your Majeſty would vouchſafe to employ your Authority and Aſſiſtance once again with ſo much the more urgent Importunity; and as you have undertaken for thoſe Indigent People, that they will be Faithful and Obedient to their Prince, ſo you would be graciouſly pleas'd to take care of their Welfare and Safety, that no farther Oppreſſions of this nature, no more ſuch diſmal Calamities may be the Portion of the Innocent and Peaceful. This being truly royal and juſt in it ſelf, and highly agreeable to your Benignity and Clemency, which every where protects in ſoft ſecurity ſo many of your Subjects profeſſing the ſame Religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your Majeſty. Which Act of yours, as it will more cloſely bind to your Subjection

all the *Proteſtants* throughout your ſpacious Dominions, *whoſe Affection and Fidelity to your Predeceſſors and your ſelf in moſt important Diſtreſſes have bin often conſpicuouſly made known*; ſo will it fully convince all Foreign Princes, that the Advice or Intention of your Majeſty were no way contributory to this prodigious Violence, whatever inflam'd your Miniſters and Officers to promote it. More eſpecially, if your Majeſty ſhall inflict deſerved Puniſhment upon thoſe Captains and Miniſters, who of their own Authority, and to gratifie their own Wills, adventur'd the perpetrating ſuch dreadful Acts of Inhumanity. In the mean while, ſince your Majeſty has aſſur'd us of your juſtly merited Averſion to theſe moſt inhuman and cruel Proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a ſecure Sanctuary and Shelter within your Kingdom to all thoſe miſerable Exiles that ſhall flye to your Majeſty for Protection; and that you will not give permiſſion to any of your Subjects to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy* to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your Majeſty, how highly we eſteem and value your Friendſhip: In teſtimony of which, we farther affirm there ſhall never be wanting upon all occaſions the real aſſurances and effects of our Proteſtation.

White-Hall, July 29, 1655.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.

Moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAving deem'd it neceſſary to ſend this Noble Perſon to the King with Letters, a Copy of which is here enclos'd, we gave him alſo farther in charge to ſalute your Excellency in our Name, as

having entrusted to his Fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your Eminency. In reference to which Affairs, I intreat your Eminency to give him entire Credit, as being a Person in whom I have repos'd a more than ordinary Confidence.

White-Hall, July 29. 1655.

Your Eminency's most affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the most Serene Prince*, Frederick III. *King of* Denmark, Norway, *&c.*

WIth what a severe and unmerciful Edict *Immanuel* Duke of *Savoy* has expell'd from their Native Seats his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, Men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the Purity of Religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has expos'd the rest to the Hardships of those desert Mountains, stript to their Skins, and barr'd from all Relief, we believe your Majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your Majesty is touch'd with a real Commiseration of their Sufferings, as becomes so puissant a Defender and Prince of the Reformed Faith: For indeed the Institutions of Christian Religion require, that whatever Mischiefs and Miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: Nor does any Man better than your Majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your Piety and Prudence, what dangers the success and example of this Fact portend to our selves in particular, and to the whole Protestant Name in general. We have written the more willingly to your self, to the end we might assure your Majesty, that the same Sor-

row which we hope you have conceiv'd for the Calamity of our moſt innocent Brethren, the ſame Opinion, the ſame Judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and ſincerely our own. We have therefore ſent our Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have moſt importunately beſought him to ſpare thoſe miſerable People that implore his Mercy, and that he would no longer ſuffer that dreadful Edict to be in force: Which if your Majeſty and the reſt of the Reformed Princes would vouchſafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is ſome hope that the Anger of the moſt Serene Duke may be aſſwag'd, and that his Indignation will relent upon the Interceſſion and Importunities of his Neighbour Princes. Or if he perſiſt in his Determinations, we proteſt our ſelves ready, together with your Majeſty, and the reſt of our Confederates of the Reformed Religion, to take ſuch ſpeedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the Diſtreſſes of ſo many miſerable Creatures, and provide for their Liberty and Safety. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty with all Proſperity.

White-hall, May — 1655.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Geneva.

WE had before made known to your Lordſhips our exceſſive Sorrow for the heavy and unheard of Calamities of the Proteſtants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* perſecutes with ſo much Cruelty, but that we made it our buſineſs that you ſhould at the ſame time underſtand that we are not only affected with the multitude of their Sufferings, but are uſing the utmoſt of our En-

ıurs to relieve and comfort 'em in their Dis-
s. To that purpose we have taken care for a
ring of Alms to be made throughout this whole
blick; which upon good grounds we expect will
ch, as will demonstrate the Affection of this
ın toward their Brethren labouring under the
n of such horrid Inhumanities; and that as the
munion of Religion is the same between both
le, so the sense of their Calamities is no less the
In the mean time while the Collections of
Money go forward, which in regard they will re-
some time to accomplish, and for that the
ts and Necessities of those deplorable People will
t of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit
ehand two thousand Pounds of the Value of
nd, with all possible speed to be distributed
ıg such as shall be judg'd to be most in present
of Comfort and Succour. Now in regard we
ot ignorant how deeply the Miseries and Wrongs
ıose most innocent People have affected your
s, and that you will not think amiss of any La-
or Pains where you can be assisting to their Re-
we made no scruple to commit the paying and
buting this Sum of Money to your Care; and
ve ye this farther trouble, that according to your
ed Piety and Prudence, you would take care that
said Money may be distributed equally to the
necessitous, to the end that though the Sum be
l, yet there may be something to refresh and re-
the most poor and needy, till we can afford 'em
ıre plentiful Supply. And thus, not making any
t but you will take in good part the trouble im-
l upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up
Hearts of all his People professing the Orthodox
gion, to resolve upon the common Defence of
ıselves, and the mutual Assistance of each other
ıst their imbitter'd and most implacable Enemies:
ıe prosecution of which we should rejoyce that

our helping hand might be any way ſerviceable to the Church. Farewel.

Fifteen hundred Pounds of the foreſaid two thouſand will be remitted by Gerard Hench *from* Paris, *and the other five hundred Pounds will be taken care of by Letters from the Lord* Stoup.

June 8. 1655.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of* Venice.

Moſt Serene Prince,

AS it has bin always a great occaſion of rejoycing to us when ever any proſperous Succeſs attended your Arms, but more eſpecially againſt the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name; ſo neither are we ſorry for the late Advantage gain'd by your Fleet, though as we underſtand, it happen'd not a little to the Detriment of our People: For certain of our Merchants, *William* and *Daniel Williams*, and *Edward Beale*, have ſet forth in a Petition preſented to us, that a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Great Prince*, was lately ſent by them with Goods and Merchandize to *Conſtantinople*, where the ſaid Ship was detain'd by the Miniſters of the *Port*, to carry Souldiers and Proviſions to *Crete;* and that the ſaid Ship being conſtrain'd to ſail along with the ſame Fleet of the *Turks*, which was ſet upon and vanquiſh'd by the Gallies of the *Venetians*, was taken, carri'd away to *Venice*, and there adjudg'd lawful Prize by the Judges of the Admiralty. Now therefore in regard the ſaid Ship was preſs'd by the *Turks*, and forc'd into their Service without the Knowledg or Conſent of the Owners directly or indirectly obtain'd, and that it was impoſſible for her, being ſhip'd with Souldiers, to withdraw from the Engagement, we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Serenity, that you will remit that Sen-

tence of your Admiralty, as a Present to our Friendship, and take such care that the Ship may be restor'd to the Owners, no way deserving the Displeasure of your Republick by any Act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our Intercession, while we find the Merchants themselves so well assur'd of your Clemency, it behoves us not to question it. And so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous Blessings upon your noble Designs, and the *Venetian* Republick.

Westminster, Decemb. 1655.

Your Serenity's and the *Venetian* Republick's most affectionate, *Oliver*

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the most Serene Prince*, Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene King,

CErtain of our Merchants, by name *Samuel Mico*, *William Cockain*, *George Poyner*, and several others, in a Petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650. they laded a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Unicorn*, with Goods of a very considerable Value; and that the said Ship being thus laden with Silk, Oil, and other Merchandize, amounting to above thirty four thousand of our Pounds, was taken by the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of your Majesty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean* Sea. Now it appears to us, that our People who were then in the Ship, by reason there was at that time a Peace between the *French* and us, that never had bin violated in the least, were not willing to make any Defence against your Majesty's Royal Ships, and therefore overrul'd besides by the fair Promises of the Captains *Paul* and *Terrery*, who faithfully engag'd to dismiss our People, they paid their Obedience to the Maritime Laws, and pro-

duc'd their Bills of Lading. Moreover, we find that the Merchants aforesaid sent their Agent into *France* to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods: And then it was, that after above three Years slipt away, when the Suit was brought so far that Sentence of Restitution or Condemnation was to have bin given, that his Eminency Cardinal *Mazarine* acknowledg'd to their Factor *Hugh Morel*, the Wrong that has bin done the Merchants, and undertook that Satisfaction should be given, so soon as the League between the two Nations, which was then under Negotiation, should be ratifi'd and confirm'd. Nay, since that, his Excellency M. *de Bourdeaux*, your Majesty's Embassador, assur'd us in express words, by the Command of your Majesty and your Council, That care should be taken of that Ship and Goods in a particular Exception, apart from those Controversies, for the decision of which a general Provision was made by the League; of which promise, the Embassador, now opportunely arriv'd here to solicit some business of his own, is a Testimony no way to be question'd. Which being true, and the right of the Merchants in redemanding their Ship and Goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your Majesty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your Majesty will admit the grant of this Favour, as the first fruits of our reviv'd Amity, and the lately renew'd League between us. The refusal of which, as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all Prosperity both your Majesty and your Kingdom.

Westminster, Dec. — 1655.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

To the Evangelic Cities of Switzerland.

'N what Condition your Affairs are, which is not . the beſt, we are abundantly inform'd, as well by ur publick Acts tranſmitted to us by our Agent at *eneva*, as alſo by your Letters from *Zurick*, bearing te the 27*th* of *December*. Whereby, although we e ſorry to find your Peace, and ſuch a laſting League 'Confederacy broken; nevertheleſs ſince it appears have happen'd through no fault of yours, we are hopes that the iniquity and perverſeneſs of your dverſaries are contriving new occaſions for ye to ake known your long-ago experienc'd Fortitude d Reſolution in defence of the *Evangelick* Faith. or as for thoſe of the Canton of *Schwits*, who acunt it a capital Crime for any Perſon to embrace ir Religion, what they are might and main deming, and whoſe inſtigations have incens'd 'em to ſolutions of Hoſtility againſt the Orthodox Religion, body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that oſt deteſtable ſlaughter of our Brethren in *Piemont*. 'herefore, moſt beloved Friends, what you were ways wont to be, with God's Aſſiſtance ſtill conue, Magnanimous and Reſolute; ſuffer not your ivileges, your Confederacies, the Liberty of your nſciences, your Religion it ſelf to be trampled der foot by the worſhippers of Idols; and ſo pre-re your ſelves, that you may not ſeem to be the :fenders only of your own Freedom and Safety, t be ready likewiſe to aid and ſuccour, as far as in u lies, your neighbouring Brethren, more eſpecially ſe moſt deplorable *Piedmontois;* as being certainly ıvinc'd of this, that a Paſſage was lately intended have bin open'd over their ſlaughter'd Bodies to ır ſides. As for our part be aſſur'd, that we are

no leſs anxious and ſolicitous for your Welfare and Proſperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republick; or as if the Axes of the *Schwits Canton* had bin ſharpen'd for our Necks, or that their Swords had bin drawn againſt our Breaſts, as indeed they were againſt the boſoms of all the Reformed. Therefore ſo ſoon as we were inform'd of the Condition of your Affairs, and the obſtinate Animoſities of your Enemies, adviſing with ſome ſincere and honeſt Perſons, together with ſome Miniſters of the Church moſt eminent for their Piety, about ſending to your Aſſiſtance ſuch Succour as the preſent poſture of our Affairs would permit, we came to thoſe Reſults which our Envoy *Pell* will impart to your Conſideration. In the mean time we ceaſe not to implore the Bleſſing of the Almighty upon all your Counſels, and the Protection of your moſt juſt Cauſe, as well in War as in Peace.

Weſtminſter, Jan. —, 1655.

Your Lordſhips and Worſhips moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*,

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *by the Grace of God King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *&c.*

Moſt Serene King,

SEeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a Communication of Concerns among Friends, whether in Proſperity or Adverſity; it cannot but be moſt grateful to us, that your Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe to impart unto us by your Letters the moſt pleaſing and delightful part of your Friendſhip, which is your joy. In regard it is a

mark of ſingular Civility, and truly Royal, as not to live only to a man's ſelf, ſo neither to rejoyce alone, unleſs he be ſenſible that his Friends and Confederates partake of his gladneſs. Certainly then, we have reaſon to rejoyce for the Birth of a young Prince born to ſuch an excellent King, and ſent into the World to be the Heir of his Father's Glory and Vertue; and this at ſuch a lucky ſeaſon, that we have no leſs cauſe to congratulate the Royal Parent with the memorable Omen that befel the famous *Philip* of *Macedon*, who at the ſame time receiv'd the Tydings of *Alexander's* Birth, and the Conqueſt of the *Illyrians*. For we make no queſtion, but the wreſting of the Kingdom of *Poland* from Papal Subjection, as it were a Horn diſmembred from the Head of the Beaſt, and the Peace ſo much deſir'd by all Good men, concluded with the Duke of *Brandenburg*, will be moſt highly conducing to the Tranquillity and Advantage of the Church. Heaven grant a Concluſion correſpondent to ſuch ſignal beginnings; and may the Son be like the Father in Vertue, Piety, and Renown, obtain'd by great Atchievments. Which is that we wiſh may luckily come to paſs, and which we beg of the Almighty, ſo propitious hitherto to your Affairs.

Weſtminſter, Feb. —, 1655.

Your Majeſty's Moſt Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the *Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*

To the King of Denmark.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince,

John Freeman and *Philip Traveſs*, Citizens of this Republick, by a Petition preſented to us, in their own and the Name of ſeveral other Merchants of

London, have made a Complaint, That whereas about the Month of *March* in the year 1653. they freighted a certain Ship of *Sunderburgh*, call'd the *Saviour*, *Nicolas Weinſkinks* Maſter, with Woollen Cloth, and other Commodities to the Value of above three thouſand Pound, with Orders to the Maſter that he ſhould ſail directly up the *Baltick* for *Dantzick*, paying the uſual Tribute at *Elſenore*, to which purpoſe in particular they gave him Money; nevertheleſs that the ſaid Maſter, perfidiouſly and contrary to the Orders of the ſaid Merchants, ſlipping by *Elſenore* without paying the uſual Duty, thought to have proceeded in his Voyage, but that the Ship for this reaſon was immediately ſeiz'd and detain'd with all her Lading. After due conſideration of which Complaints, we wrote in favour of the Merchants to your Majeſty's Embaſſador reſiding at *London*, who promis'd, as they ſay, that as ſoon as he return'd to your Majeſty, he would take care that the Merchants ſhould be taken into Conſideration. But he being ſent to negotiate your Majeſty's Affairs in other Countries, the Merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; ſo that they were forc'd to ſend their Agent to proſecute their Right and Claim at *Copenhagen*, and demand Reſtitution of the Ship and Goods; but all the benefit they reap'd by it, was only to add more expences to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the Goods being condemn'd to Confiſcation, and ſtill detain'd: Whereas by the Law of *Denmark*, as they ſet forth in their Petition, the Maſter is to be puniſh'd for his Offence, and the Ship is to be condemn'd, but not the Goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon 'em, in regard the Duty which is to be paid at *Elſenore*, as they tell us, is but very ſmall. Wherefore ſeeing our Merchants ſeem to have given no cauſe of Proſcription, and for that

the Maſter confeſs'd before his Death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect; and the Father of the Maſter deceas'd, by his Petition to your Majeſty, as we are given to underſtand, by laying all the blame upon his Son, has acquitted the Merchants, we could not but believe the detaining of the ſaid Ship and Goods to be moſt unjuſt; and therefore we are confident, that ſo ſoon as your Majeſty ſhall be rightly inform'd of the whole matter, you will not only diſapprove of theſe Oppreſſions of your Miniſters, but give command that they be call'd to an account, that the Goods be reſtor'd to the Owners or their Factors, and Reparation made 'em for the Loſſes they have ſuſtain'd. All which we moſt earneſtly requeſt of your Majeſty, as being no more than what is ſo juſt and conſentaneous to reaſon, that a more equitable demand, or more legal Satisfaction cannot well be made, conſidering the Juſtice of our Merchants Cauſe, and which your own Subjects would think but fair and honeſt upon the like occaſions.

To the moſt Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal, *&c.*

Moſt Serene King,

THe Peace and Friendſhip which your Majeſty deſir'd, by your noble and ſplendid Embaſſy ſent to us ſome time ſince, after certain Negotiations begun by the Parlament, in whom the Supream Power was veſted at that time, as it was always moſt affectionately wiſh'd for by us, with the aſſiſtance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the Adminiſtration of the Government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy Concluſion, and as we hope, as a ſacred Act, have rati-

fi'd it to perpetuity. And therefore we ſend back to your Majeſty your extraordinary Embaſſador, the Lord *John Roderigo de Sita Meneſes*, Count of *Pennaguiada*, a Perſon both approv'd by your Majeſty's judgment, and by us experienc'd to excel in Civility, Ingenuity, Prudence and Fidelity, beſides the merited applauſe which he has juſtly gain'd by accompliſhing the ends of his Embaſſy, which is the Peace which he carries along with him to his Country. But as to what we perceive by your Letters dated from *Liſbon* the ſecond of *April*, that is to ſay, how highly your Majeſty eſteems our Amity, how cordially you favour our Advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the Government of the Republick upon us, which you are pleas'd to manifeſt by ſingular Teſtimonies of Kindneſs and Affection, we ſhall make it our buſineſs, that all the World may underſtand, by our readineſs at all times to ſerve your Majeſty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we leſs earneſt in our Prayers to God for your Majeſty's ſafety, the welfare of your Kingdom, and the proſperous ſucceſs of your Affairs.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, &c. *To the High and Mighty States of the* United Provinces.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords,
our deareſt Friends;

CErtain Merchants, our Country-men, *Thomas Baſſel*, *Richard Beare*, and others their Co-Partners, have made their Complaints before us, That a certain Ship of theirs, the *Edmund* and *John*,

in her Voyage from the Coaſt of *Braſile* to *Liſbon*, was ſet upon by a Privateer of *Fluſhing*, call'd the *Red-Lyon*, commanded by *Lambert Bartelſon*, but upon this condition, which the writing ſign'd by *Lambert* himſelf teſtifies, That the Ship and whatſoever Goods belong'd to the *Engliſh* ſhould be reſtor'd at *Fluſhing*: where when the Veſſel arriv'd, the Ship indeed with what peculiarly belong'd to the Seamen was reſtor'd, but the *Engliſh* Merchants Goods were detain'd and put forthwith to ſale: For the Merchants who had receiv'd the Damage, when they had ſu'd for their Goods in the Court of *Fluſhing*, after great Expences for five years together, loſt their Suit by the pronouncing of a moſt unjuſt Sentence againſt 'em by thoſe Judges, of which ſome being intereſted in the Privateer, were both Judges and Adverſaries, and no leſs criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your Equity and uncorrupted Faith, to which at laſt they fly for Succour; and which they believ'd they ſhould find the more inclinable to do 'em Juſtice, if aſſiſted by our Recommendation. And men are ſurely to be pardon'd, if, afraid of all things in ſo great a ſtruggle for their Eſtates, they rather call to mind what they have reaſon to fear from your Authority and high Power, than what they have to hope well of their Cauſe, eſpecially before ſincere and upright Judges: Though for our parts we make no queſtion, but that induc'd by your Religion, your Juſtice, your Integrity, rather than by our Intreaties, you will give that Judgment which is juſt and equal, and truly becoming your ſelves. God preſerve both you and your Republick to his own Glory, and the defence and ſuccour of his Church.

Weſtminſter, April 1. 1656.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the most Serene Prince,* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *Duke of* Esthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassubia *and* Vandalia, *Prince of* Rugia, *Lord of* Ingria *and* Wismaria, *Count* Palatine *of the* Rhine, *Duke of* Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves *and* Monts.

Most Serene Prince,

PEter *Julius Coiet* having accomplish'd the Affairs of his Embassy with us, and so acquitted himself, that he is not by us to be dismiss'd without the Ornament of his deserved Praises, is now returning to your Majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high Consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his Trust. The Recommendation therefore which we receiv'd from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have bin made good by him, and deservedly given by your self; as he on the other side is able with the same Fidelity and Integrity to relate and most truly to declare our singular Affection and Observance toward your Majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all-powerful God to bless your Majesty with all Felicity, and a perpetual course of Victory over all the Enemies of his Church.

Westminster, April 17. 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene Prince,

JOhn *Dethic*, Mayor of the City of *London* for this Year, and *William Wakefield* Merchant, have made their Addresses to us by way of Petition, complaining, That about the middle of *October*, 1649. they freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Jonas* of *London*, *Jonas Lightfoot* Master, with Goods that were to be sent to *Ostend;* which Vessel was taken in the Mouth of the River *Thames*, by one *White* of *Barking*, a Pyrate, robbing upon the Seas by virtue of a Commission from the Son of King *Charles* deceas'd, and carry'd to *Dunkirk*, then under the Jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your Majesty's Edict in the Year 1647, renew'd in 1649. and by some other Decrees in favour of the Parlament of *England*, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, That no Vessel or Goods taken from the *English*, in the time of that War, should be carry'd into any of your Majesty's Ports to be there put to sale, they presently sent their Factor *Hugh Morel* to *Dunkirk*, to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from *M. Lestrade* then Governor of the Town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouch'd, and neither exchang'd or sold. To which the Governor made answer, That the King had bestow'd that Government upon him of his free Gift for Service done the King in his Wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the Reward of his Labour. So that having little to hope from an Answer so unkind and unjust, after a great Expence of Time and Money, the Factor return'd

home. So that all the remaining hopes which the Petitioners have, ſeem wholly to depend upon your Majeſty's Juſtice and Clemency, to which they thought they might have the more eaſy acceſs by means of our Letters; and therefore that neither your Clemency nor your Juſtice may be wanting to People deſpoil'd againſt all Law and Reaſon, and contrary to your repeated Prohibitions, we make it our Requeſt. Wherein, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to gratify us, ſince there is nothing requir'd but what is moſt juſt and equitable, we ſhall deem it as obtain'd rather from your innate Integrity, than any Intreaty of ours.

Weſtminſter, May —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our dereſt Friends;

JOhn *Brown*, *Nicholas Williams*, and others, Citizens of *London*, have ſet forth in their Petition to us, that when they had every one brought in their Proportions, and freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Good-hope* of *London*, bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, they gave Orders to their Factor to take up at *Amſterdam* two thouſand four hundred Dutch Pounds, to inſure the ſaid Ship; that afterwards this Ship in her Voyage to the Coaſt of *India* was taken by a Ship belonging to the *Eaſt-India Company;* upon which they who had engag'd to inſure the ſaid Veſſel refus'd to pay the Money, and have for this ſix Years by various delays eluded our Merchants, who with extraordinary

)iligence, and at vaſt Expences, endeavour'd the re-
ɔvery of their juſt Right. Which in regard it is
ı unjuſt Grievance that lies ſo heavy upon the Pe-
tioners, for that ſome of thoſe who oblig'd them-
:lves are dead or become inſolvent, therefore that
o farther Loſſes may accrue to their former Damages,
'e make it our earneſt Requeſt to your Lordſhips,
ıat you will vouchſafe your Integrity to be the Har-
our and Refuge for People toſs'd ſo many Years,
nd almoſt ſhipwrack'd in your Courts of Juſtice,
nd that ſpeedy Judgment may be given according
) the Rules of Equity and Honeſty in their Cauſe,
'hich they believe to be moſt juſt. In the mean
ime we wiſh you all Proſperity to the Glory of God,
nd the Welfare of his Church.

Weſtminſter, May—, 1656.

Your High and Mighty Lordſhips
moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*,
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

)liver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords the States of the* United Provinces.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords,
our dearest Friends;

THe ſame Perſons in whoſe behalf we wrote to your Lordſhips in *September* the laſt year, *'homas* and *William Lower*, the lawful Heirs of *Niholas Lower* deceas'd, make grievous Complaints efore us, that they are oppreſs'd either by the Favour r Wealth of their Adverſaries, notwithſtanding the uſtice of their Cauſe; and when that would not ſuf-ce, although our Letters were often pleaded in their ehalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain

Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance left 'em by their Father's Will. From the Court of *Holland*, where the Suit was firſt commenc'd, they were ſent to your Court, and from thence hurry'd away into *Zealand*, (to which three Places they carry'd our Letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your ſupream Judicature; for where the ſupream Power is, there they expect ſupream Juſtice. If that hope fail 'em, eluded and fruſtrated, after being ſo long toſs'd from poſt to pillar for the recovery of their Right, where at length to find a reſting place they know not. For as for our Letters, if they find no benefit of theſe the fourth time written, they can never promiſe themſelves any advantage for the future from ſlighted Papers. However it would be moſt acceptable to us, if yet at length, after ſo many contempts, the injur'd Heirs might meet with ſome Relief by a ſpeedy and juſt Judgment, if not out of reſpect to any Reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own Equity and Juſtice. Of the laſt of which we make no queſtion, and confidently preſume you will allow the other to our Friendſhip.

Weſtminſter, May —, 1656.

Your High and Mighty Lordſhip's
moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*,
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the moſt Serene Prince, John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene King,

WHereas there is a conſiderable Sum of Money owing from certain *Portugal* Merchants of the *Braſile* Company to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants,

upon the account of Freightage and Demorage, in the Years 1649 and 1650, which Money is detain'd by the ſaid Company by your Majeſties Command, the Merchants before-mentioned expected that the ſaid Money ſhould have been paid long ſince according to the Articles of the laſt League, but now they are afraid of being debarr'd all hopes and means of recovering their Debts; underſtanding your Majeſty has order'd, That what Money is owing to 'em by the *Braſile* Company, ſhall be carry'd into your Treaſury, and that no more than one half of the Duty of Freightage ſhall be expended toward the Payment of their Debts; by which means the Merchants will receive no more than the bare Intereſt of their Money, while at the ſame time they utterly loſe their Principal. Which we conſidering to be very ſevere and heavy upon 'em, and being overcome by their moſt reaſonable Supplications, have granted 'em theſe our Letters to your Majeſty; chiefly requeſting this at your hands, to take care that the aforeſaid *Braſile* Company may give ſpeedy Satisfaction to the Merchants of this Republick, and pay 'em not only the Principal Money which is owing to 'em, but the five Years Intereſt; as being both juſt in it ſelf, and conformable to the League ſo lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in moſt friendly manner we requeſt from your Majeſty.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
July, —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene King,

AS it is but just that we should highly value the Friendship of your Majesty, a Prince so potent and so renown'd for great Atchievments; so is it but equally reasonable that your Extraordinary Embassador, the most illustrious Lord *Christiern Bond*, by whose Sedulity and Care a strict Alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratifi'd between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fix'd in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplish'd his Embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your Majesty, though not without the high Applause which the rest of his singular Vertues merit; to the end, that he who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reap'd still more abundant fruits of his Sedulity and Prudence from our Recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determin'd in a short time to send an Embassy to your Majesty for the settling of those Affairs. In the mean time Almighty God preserve in Safety so great a Pillar of his Church, and of *Swedeland's* Welfare.

From our Palace at Westminster,
July —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

'liver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene Prince Lewis *King of* France.

Ioſt Serene King, our moſt dear Friend
and Confederate;

CErtain Merchants of *London*, *Richard Baker* and others, have made their Complaint in a Petion to us, That a certain hir'd Ship of theirs, call'd ıe *Endeavour*, *William Jopp* Maſter, laden at *Teneriff* 'ith three hundred Pipes of rich Canary, and bound 'om thence for *London*, in her Voyage between *Palma* ıd that Iſland, upon the 21*ſt* of *November*, in the 'ear 1655. was taken by four French Veſſels, ſeemıg Ships of Burden, but fitted and mann'd like Priateers, under the Command of *Giles de la Roche* their ıdmiral, and carri'd with all her Freight, and the reateſt part of the Seamen to the *Eaſt-Indies*, whiıer he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, 'ho were put aſhore upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*) which ıe ſaid *Giles* affirm'd he did with that intent, that one of 'em might eſcape from ſo remote and barbaıus a Country, to do him any harm by their Teſtiıony. For he confeſs'd he had neither any Comıiſſion to take the Engliſh Veſſels, neither had he ıken any, as he might have done before, well knowıg there was a firm Peace at that time between the 'rench and our Republick: But in regard he had degn'd to revittle in *Portugal*, from whence he was riven by contrary Winds, he was conſtrain'd to ſupıly his neceſſities with what he found in that Veſſel; nd believ'd the Owners of his Ships would ſatisfy he Merchants for their Loſs. Now the Loſs of our Merchants amounts to ſixteen thouſand Engliſh 'ounds, as will eaſily be made appear by Witneſſes pon Oath. But if it ſhall be lawful, upon ſuch tri-

vial Excuſes as theſe, for Pyrates to violate the moſt religious Acts of Princes, and make a ſport of Merchants for their particular Benefits, certainly the Sanctity of Leagues muſt fall to the ground, all Faith and Authority of Princes will grow out of date, and be trampl'd under foot. Wherefore we not only requeſt your Majeſty, but believe it mainly to concern your Honour, that they who have adventur'd upon ſo ſlight a pretence to violate the League and moſt ſacred Oath of their Sovereign, ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment due to ſo much Perfidiouſneſs and daring Inſolence; and that in the mean time the Owners of thoſe Ships, though to their Loſs, ſhould be bound to ſatisfy our Merchants for the vaſt Detriment which they have ſo wrongfully ſuſtain'd. So may the Almighty long preſerve your Majeſty, and ſupport the Intereſt of *France* againſt the common Enemy of us both.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Aug. —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector, *&c.*

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England,
To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

HAving an occaſion to ſend Letters to the King, we thought it likewiſe an offer'd opportunity to write to your Eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the ſubject of our writing from the ſole and only Perſon, whoſe ſingular Prudence governs the moſt important Intereſts of the French Nation, and the moſt weighty Affairs of the Kingdom with equal Fidelity, Counſel and Vigilance. Not without reaſon we complain, in ſhort, to find

hat League by your ſelf, as it were a crime to doubt, noſt ſacredly concluded, almoſt the very ſame day ontemn'd and violated by one *Giles* a French-man, . petty Admiral of four Ships, and his Aſſociates qually concern'd, as your Eminency will readily find y our Letters to the King, and the Demands themelves of our Merchants. Nor is it unknown to your Excellency, how much it concerns not only inferiour Magiſtrates, but even Royal Majeſty it ſelf, that thoſe irſt Violators of ſolemn Alliances ſhould be ſeverely uniſh'd. But they, perhaps, by this time being ariv'd in the *Eaſt-Indies*, whither they pretended to be ound, enjoy in undiſturb'd poſſeſſion the Goods of ur People as lawful Prize won from an Enemy, which they robb'd and pillag'd from the Owners, ontrary to all Law, and the pledg'd Faith of our ate ſacred League. However, this is that which we equeſt from your Eminency, That whatever Goods vere taken from our Merchants by the Admiral of hoſe Ships, as neceſſary for his Voyage, may be retor'd by the Owners of the ſame Veſſels, which was o more than what the Rovers themſelves thought uſt and equal; which, as we underſtand, it lies within our Power to do, conſidering the Authority and way you bear in the Kingdom.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Aug. —, 1656.
Your Eminencies moſt Affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dear Friends and Confederates;

WE make no doubt but that all Men will bear us this Testimony, That no Considerations, in contracting Foreign Alliances, ever sway'd us beyond those of defending the Truth of Religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the Minds of all the Friends and Protectors of the *Protestants*, and of all others who at least were not their Enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touch'd with so much the more grief of Mind, to hear that the Protestant Princes and Cities, whom it so much behoves to live in Friendship and Concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill dispos'd to mutual Affection; more especially, that your Lordships and the King of *Sweden*, than whom the Orthodox Faith has not more magnanimous and couragious Defenders, nor our Republick Confederates more strictly conjoin'd in Interests, should seem to remit of your Confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent Signs of tottering Friendship and growing Discord between ye. What the Causes are, and what Progress this Alienation of your Affection has made, we protest our selves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least Dissension arisen among Brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the Protestant Interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to the Protestant Churches,

what an occaſion of Triumph it would afford our Enemies, and more eſpecially the *Spaniards*, cannot be unknown to your Prudence, and moſt induſtrious Experience of Affairs. As for the *Spaniards*, it has already ſo enliven'd their Confidence, and rais'd their Courage, that they made no ſcruple by their Embaſſador reſiding in your Territories, boldly to obtrude their Counſels upon your Lordſhips, and that in reference to the higheſt Concerns of your Republick; preſuming partly with Threats of renewing the War, to terrify; and partly with a falſe proſpect of Advantage to ſollicit your Lordſhips to forſake your ancient and moſt faithful Friends, the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Danes*, and enter into a ſtrict Confederacy with your old Enemy, and once your domineering Tyrant, now ſeemingly aton'd; but what is moſt to be fear'd, only at preſent treacherouſly fawning to advance his own Deſigns. Certainly he, who of an inveterate Enemy, lays hold of ſo ſlight an occaſion of a ſudden to become your Counſellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his Inſolency ſtop, if once he could but ſee with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to ſay, Diviſion, and a Civil War among the Proteſtants? We are not ignorant that your Lordſhips, out of your deep Wiſdom, frequently revolve in your Minds what the Poſture of all *Europe* is, and what more eſpecially the Condition of the Proteſtants: That the Cantons of *Switzerland* adhering to the Orthodox Faith, are in daily expectation of new Troubles to be rais'd by their Country-men embracing the Popiſh Ceremonies; ſcarcely recover'd from that War, which for the ſake of Religion was kindled and blown up by the *Spaniards*, who ſuppli'd their Enemies both with Commanders and Money: That the Councils of the *Spaniards* are ſtill contriving to

continue the Slaughter and Deſtruction of the *Piemontois*, which was cruelly put in execution the laſt Year: That the Proteſtants under the Juriſdiction of the Emperor, are moſt grievouſly haraſs'd, having much ado to keep poſſeſſion of their native Homes: That the King of *Sweden*, whom God, as we hope, has rais'd up to be a moſt ſtout Defender of the Orthodox Faith, is at preſent waging with all the Force of his Kingdom, a doubtful and bloody War with the moſt Potent Enemies of the Reformed Religion: That your own Provinces are threatned with hoſtile Confederacies of the Princes your Neighbours, headed by the *Spaniards;* and laſtly, that we our ſelves are buſied in a War proclaim'd againſt the King of *Spain*. In this poſture of Affairs, if any Conteſt ſhould happen between your Lordſhips and the King of *Sweden*, how miſerable would be the condition of all the Reformed Churches over all *Europe*, expos'd to the Cruelty and Fury of unſanctifi'd Enemies? Theſe Cares not ſlightly ſeize us; and we hope your Sentiments to be the ſame; and that out of your continu'd Zeal for the common Cauſe of the Proteſtants, and to the end the preſent Peace between Brethren profeſſing the ſame Faith, the ſame hope of Eternity, may be preſerv'd inviolable, your Lordſhips will accommodate your Counſels to theſe Conſiderations, which are to be preferr'd before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the eſtabliſhing Tranquillity and Union between your Lordſhips and the King of *Sweden*. Wherein if we can any way be uſeful, as far as our Authority, and the Favour you bear us will ſway with your Lordſhips, we freely offer our utmoſt Aſſiſtance, prepared in like manner to be no leſs ſerviceable to the King of *Sweden*, to whom we deſign a ſpeedy Embaſſy, to the end we may declare our Sentiments at large concerning theſe Matters. We

hope moreover, that God will bend your Minds on both ſides to moderate Counſels, and ſo reſtrain your Animoſities, that no Provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to feſter your Differences to extremity: But that on the other ſide both Parties will remove whatever may give offence or occaſion of jealouſy to the other. Which if you ſhall vouchſafe to do, you will diſappoint your Enemies, prove the Conſolation of your Friends, and in the beſt manner provide for the Welfare of your Republick. And this we beſeech you to be fully convinc'd of, that we ſhall uſe our utmoſt care to make appear, upon all occaſions, our extraordinary Affection and Good-will to the States of the *United Provinces*. And ſo we moſt earneſtly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his Bleſſings of Peace, Wealth and Liberty, upon your Republick; but above all things to preſerve it always flouriſhing in the Love of the Chriſtian Faith, and the true Worſhip of his Name.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Aug. — 1656.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince*, John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene Prince;

UPon the 11*th* of *July* laſt, *Old-ſtile*, we receiv'd by *Thomas Maynard* the Ratification of the Peace negotiated at *London* by your extraordinary Embaſſador; as alſo of the private and preliminary Articles, all now confirm'd by your Majeſty: And by our Letters from *Philip Meadows*, our Agent at *Liſbon*, dated the ſame time, we underſtand that our

Ratification alſo of the ſame Peace and Articles, was by him, according to our Orders ſent him, deliver'd to your Majeſty: And thus the Inſtruments of the forementioned Ratification being mutually interchang'd on both ſides in the beginning of *June* laſt, there is now a firm and ſettl'd Peace between both Nations. And this Pacification has given us no ſmall occaſion of Joy and Satisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common Benefit of both Nations, and to the no ſlight detriment of our common Enemies, who as they found out a Means to diſturb the former League, ſo they left nothing neglected to have hinder'd the renewing of this. Nor do we queſtion in the leaſt, that they will omit any occaſion of creating new Matter for Scandals and Jealouſies between us. Which we however have conſtantly determin'd, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote diſtance from our thoughts; rather we ſo earneſtly deſire, that this our Alliance may beget a mutual Confidence, greater every day than other, that we ſhall take them for our Enemies, who ſhall by any Artifices endeavour to moleſt the Friendſhip by this Peace eſtabliſh'd between our ſelves and both our People. And we readily perſwade our ſelves, that your Majeſty's Thoughts and Intentions are the ſame. And whereas it has pleas'd your Majeſty, by your Letters dated the 24*th* of *June*, and ſome days after the delivery by our Agent of the interchang'd Inſtrument of confirm'd Peace, to mention certain Clauſes of the League, of which you deſir'd ſome little Alteration, being of ſmall moment to this Republick, as your Majeſty believes, but of great importance to the Kingdom of *Portugal;* we ſhall be ready to enter into a particular Treaty in order to thoſe Propoſals made by your Majeſty, or whatever elſe may conduce, in the judgment of both Parties, to the farther eſtabliſhment and more ſtrongly faſt-

ning of the League: wherein we ſhall have thoſe due Conſiderations of your Majeſty and your Subjects, as alſo of our own People, that all may be ſatisfi'd; and it ſhall be in your choice, whether theſe things ſhall be negotiated at *Liſbon*, or at *London*. However, the League being now confirm'd, and duly ſeal'd with the Seals of both Nations, to alter any part of it, would be the ſame thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly aſſur'd your Majeſty by no means deſires to do. We heartily wiſh all things lucky, all things proſperous to your Majeſty.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Auguſt — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the moſt Serene Prince John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene King;

WE have receiv'd the unwelcome News of a wicked and inhuman Attempt to have murder'd our Agent *Philip Meadows*, reſiding with your Majeſty, and by us ſent upon the bleſſed Errand of Peace; the hainouſneſs of which was ſuch, that his Preſervation is only to be attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to underſtand, by your Letters dated the 26*th* of *May* laſt, and deliver'd to us by *Thomas Maynard*, that your Majeſty, juſtly incens'd at the horridneſs of the Fact, has commanded enquiry to be made after the Criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign Puniſhment: But we do not hear that any of the Ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your Commands have wrought any effect in this Particular. Wherefore we thought

it our Duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous Outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: And therefore we make it our Request to your Majesty, That due Punishment may be inflicted upon the Authors, Associates, and Encouragers of this abominable Fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplish'd, we farther demand, That Persons of Honesty and Sincerity, well-wishers to the Peace of both Nations, may be entrusted with the Examination of this Business, that so a due Scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious Contrivance, to the end both Authors and Assistants may be the more severely punish'd. Unless this be done, neither your Majesty's Justice, nor the Honour of this Republick can be vindicated; neither can there be any stable assurance of the Peace between both Nations. We wish your Majesty all things fortunate and prosperous.

From our Palace at Whitehall,
August — 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Illustrious Lord, the Conde d'Odemira.

Most Illustrious Lord,

YOur singular Good-will towards us and this Republick, has laid no mean Obligation upon us, nor slightly ti'd us to acknowledgment. We readily perceiv'd it by your Letters of the 25*th* of *June* last, as also by those which we receiv'd from our Agent *Philip Meadows*, sent into *Portugal* to conclude the Peace in Agitation, wherein he inform'd us of your extraordinary Zeal and Diligence to promote the Pa-

cification, of which we moſt joyfully receiv'd the laſt Ratification; and we perſwade our ſelves, that your Lordſhip will have no cauſe to repent either of your Pains and Diligence in procuring this Peace, or of your Good-will to the *Engliſh*, or your Fidelity towards the King, your Sovereign; more eſpecially conſidering the great hopes we have that this Peace will be of high Advantage to both Nations, and not a little inconvenient to our Enemies. The only Accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this Negotiation, was that unhallow'd Villany nefariouſly attempted upon the Perſon of our Agent, *Philip Meadows:* The conceal'd Authors of which intended piece of Inhumanity, ought no leſs diligently to be ſought after, and made Examples to Poſterity, than the vileſt of moſt openly detected Aſſaſſinates. Nor can we doubt in the leaſt of your King's Severity and Juſtice in the puniſhment of a Crime ſo horrid, nor of your Care and Sedulity to ſee that there be no remiſſneſs of Proſecution, as being a Perſon bearing due Veneration to the Laws of God, and Sanctity among Men, and no leſs zealous to maintain the Peace between both Nations; which never can ſubſiſt if ſuch inhuman Barbarities as theſe eſcape unpuniſh'd and unreveng'd. But your abhorrence and deteſtation of the Fact is ſo well known, that there is no need of inſiſting any more at preſent upon this unpleaſing Subject. Therefore, having thus declar'd our Good-will and Affection to your Lordſhip, of which we ſhall be always ready to give apparent Demonſtrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the Bleſſings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,

Aug. — 1656.

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the most Serene Prince* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

BEing assur'd of your Majesty's Concurrence both in Thoughts and Counsels, for the defence of the Protestant Faith against the Enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious; though we cannot but rejoyce at your prosperous Successes, and the daily tidings of your Victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our Joy; we mean the bad News intermix'd with so many welcome Tidings, that the antient Friendship between your Majesty and the *States of the United Provinces*, looks with a dubious Aspect, and that the Mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the *Baltick* Sea, as seems to bode an unhappy Rupture. We confess our selves ignorant of the Causes; but we too easily foresee that the Events, which God avert, will be fatal to the Interests of the Protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict Alliance between us and your Majesty, as out of that Affection and Love to the Reformed Religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be sway'd, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace and Moderation, so now to perswade your Majesty to the same. The Protestants have Enemies every where enow and to spare, inflam'd with inexorable Revenge; they never were known to have conspir'd more perniciously to our Destruction, witness the Valleys of *Piemont*, still reaking with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable; witness *Austria*, lately turmoil'd with the Emperor's Edicts and Proscriptions; witness *Switzerland*. But to what purpose is it in many

ords to call back the bitter lamentations and re-
embrance of ſo many Calamities? Who ſo ignorant,
not to know that the Counſels of the *Spaniards*,
id the *Roman Pontiff*, for theſe two Years have fill'd
l theſe Places with Conflagrations, Slaughter, and
exation of the *Orthodox?* If to theſe Miſchiefs
ere ſhould happen an acceſs of Diſſenſion among
roteſtant Brethren, more eſpecially between two
otent States, upon whoſe Courage, Wealth and For-
tude, ſo far as human Strength may be reli'd upon,
e Support and Hopes of all the Reformed Churches
pend, of neceſſity the Proteſtant Religion muſt be
great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of Deſtruc-
on. On the other ſide, if the whole Proteſtant Name
ould but obſerve perpetual Peace among themſelves
ith that ſame brotherly Union as becomes their Pro-
ffion, there would be no occaſion to fear what all
e Artifices or Puiſſance of our Enemies could do to
irt us, which our fraternal Concord and Harmony
one would eaſily repel and fruſtrate. And there-
re we moſt earneſtly requeſt and beſeech your Ma-
ſty to harbour in your Mind propitious thoughts of
eace, and Inclinations ready bent to repair the
reaches of your priſtin Friendſhip with the *United*
rovinces, if in any part it may have accidentally ſuf-
r'd the decays of Miſtakes or Miſconſtruction. If
ere be any thing wherein our Labour, our Fidelity
d Diligence may be uſeful toward this Compoſure,
e offer and devote all to your ſervice. And may the
od of Heaven favour and proſper your noble and
ous Reſolutions, which together with all Felicity,
id a perpetual courſe of Victory we cordially wiſh
your Majeſty.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Aug. — 1656.
Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate,
Oliver
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the States of* Holland.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

IT has bin represented to us, by *William Cooper*, a Minister of *London*, and our Country-man, that *John le Maire* of *Amsterdam*, his Father-in-law, about three and thirty Years ago devis'd a Project, by which the Revenues of your Republick might be very much advanc'd without any burden to the People, and made an Agreement with *John Vandenbrook* to share between 'em the Reward which they should obtain for their Invention, which was the setling of a *little Seal* to be made use of in all the Provinces of your Territories, and for which your *High and Mightinesses* promis'd to pay the said *Vandenbrook* and his Heirs the yearly Sum of 3000 *Gilders*, or 300 *English* Pounds. Now although the use and method of this *little Seal* has bin found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great Incomes have thereby accru'd to your *High* and *Mightinesses*, and some of your *Provinces*, nevertheless nothing of the said Reward, tho with much importunity demanded, has bin paid to this day; so that the said *Vandenbrook* and *le Maire* being tir'd out with long delays, the Right of the said Grant is devolv'd to the foresaid *William Cooper*, our Country-man; who desirous to reap the fruit of his Father-in-law's Industry, has petition'd us, that we would recommend his just Demands to your *High* and *Mightinesses*, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your *High* and *Mightinesses* favourably to hear the Petition of the said *William Cooper*, and to take such care that the Reward and Stipend,

so well deserv'd, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the Arrears of the Years already pass'd. Which not doubting but your *High* and *Mightinesses* will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your Magnificence, we shall be ready to shew the same favour to the Petitions of your Country-men upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

From our Palace at White-Hall,
September — 1656.

Your High and Mightinesses most affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

AGainst our will it is that we so often trouble your Majesty with the Wrongs done by your Subjects, after a Peace so lately renew'd. But as we are fully perswaded that your Majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the Complaints of our People. That the Ship *Anthony* of *Dieppe* was legally taken before the League, manifestly appears by the Sentence of the Judges of our Admiralty-Court. Part of the Lading, that is to say, four thousand Hides, *Robert Brown*, a Merchant of *London*, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the Sale, as they themselves testify. The same Merchant, after the Peace was confirm'd, carri'd to *Dieppe* about two hundred of the same Hides, and there having sold 'em to a Cur-

rier, thought to have receiv'd his Money, but found it ſtopt and attach'd in the hands of his Factor; and a Suit being commenc'd againſt him, he could obtain no favour in that Court: Wherefore, we thought it proper to requeſt your Majeſty, that the whole matter may be referr'd to your Council, that ſo the ſaid Money may be diſcharg'd from an unjuſt and vexatious Action. For if Acts done and adjudg'd before the Peace, ſhall after Peace renew'd be call'd into queſtion and controverſy, we muſt look upon aſſurance of Treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of theſe Complaints, if ſome of theſe Violators of Leagues be not made ſevere and timely Examples to others. Which we hope your Majeſty will ſpeedily take into your Care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchſafe his moſt holy Protection.

From our Palace at White-Hall,
September — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene King,

THe Peace being happily concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and what refers to Trade being duly provided for and ratifi'd, we deem'd it neceſſary to ſend to your Majeſty *Thomas Maynard*, from whom you will receive theſe Letters, to reſide in your Dominions, under the Character and Employment of a *Conſul*, and to take care of the Eſtates and Intereſts of our Merchants.

Now in regard it may frequently ſo fall out, that he may be enforc'd to deſire the Privilege of free Admiſſion to your Majeſty, as well in matters of Trade, as upon other occaſions for the Intereſt of our Republick, we make it our requeſt to your Majeſty, that you will vouchſafe him favourable Acceſs and Audience, which we ſhall acknowledg as a ſingular demonſtration and teſtimony of your Majeſties good Will towards us. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty with all Proſperity.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Octob. — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

To the King of the Swedes.

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

ALthough your Majeſty's wonted and ſpontaneous Favour and Good-will toward all deſerving men be ſuch, that all recommendations in their behalf may ſeem ſuperfluous, yet we were unwilling to diſmiſs without our Letters to your Majeſty, this noble Perſon, *William Vavaſſour* Knight, ſerving under your Banners, and now returning to your Majeſty: Which we have done ſo much the more willingly, being inform'd, that formerly following your Majeſty's fortunate Conduct, he had loſt his Blood in ſeveral Combats to aſſert the noble Cauſe for which you fight. Inſomuch, that the ſucceeding Kings of *Sweedland* in remuneration of his Military Skill, and bold Atchievements in War, rewarded him with Lands and Annual Penſions, as the Guerdons of his Proweſs. Nor do we queſtion but that he may be

of great uſe to your Majeſty in your preſent Wars, who has bin ſo long conſpicuous for his Fidelity and Experience in Military Affairs. 'Tis our deſire therefore that he may be recommended to your Majeſty according to his Merits; and we alſo farther requeſt, That he may be paid the Arrears due to him. This, as it will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we ſhall be ready upon the like occaſion, whenever offer'd, to gratify your Majeſty, to whom we wiſh all Happineſs and Proſperity.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince*, John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene King, our dearest Friend
and Confederate;

THomas *Evans*, a Maſter of a Ship, and our Country-man, has preſented a Petition to us, wherein he ſets forth, that in the years 1649, and 1650, he ſerv'd the *Braſile* Company with his Ship the *Scipio*, being a Veſſel of four hundred Tuns, and of which he was Maſter: that the ſaid Ship was taken from him, with all the Lading and Furniture by your Majeſties Command; by which he has receiv'd great Damage, beſides the loſs of ſix years gain ariſing out of ſuch a Stock. The Commiſſioners by the League appointed on both ſides for the deciding Controverſies, valu'd the whole at ſeven thouſand of our Pounds, or twice as many *Milreys* of *Portugal* Money, as they made their report to us. Which Loſs falling ſo heavy upon the foreſaid *Thomas*, and being conſtrain'd to make a Voyage to *Liſbon* for the recovery of his Eſtate, he

humbly besought us that we would grant him our Letters to your Majesty in favour of his demands. We therefore, although we wrote the last year in behalf of our Merchants in general to whom the *Brasile* Company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our Aid, request your Majesty, in regard to that Friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your Majesty would give such Orders to all your Ministers and Officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay, what is owing to him from the *Brasile* Company, or any other Persons. God Almighty bless your Majesty with perpetual Felicity, and grant that our Friendship may long endure.

From our Palace at Westminster,
Octob. — 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of* Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful,

James and *Patrick Hays*, Subjects of this Commonwealth, have made grievous Complaint before us, That they being lawful Heirs of their Brother *Alexander*, who dy'd Intestate, were so declar'd by a Sentence of your Court pronounc'd in their behalf against their Brother's Widow; and the Estates of their deceas'd Brother, together with the Profits, only the Widows Dowry excepted, being adjudg'd to them by virtue of that Sentence; nevertheless, to

this very day they could never reap any benefit of their Pains and Expences in obtaining the ſaid Judgment, notwithſtanding their own declar'd Right, and Letters formerly written by King *Charles* in their behalf; for that the great Power and Wealth of *Albert van Eyzen*, one of your Chief Magiſtrates, and with whom the greateſt part of the Goods was depoſited, was an Oppoſition too potent for them to ſurmount, whilſt he ſtrove all that in him lay that the Goods might not be reſtor'd to the Heirs. Thus diſappointed and tir'd out with delays, and at length reduc'd to utmoſt Poverty, they are become ſuppliants to us that we would not forſake 'em, wrong'd and oppreſs'd as they are in a Confederated City. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to ſuffer any Country-man of ours in vain to deſire our Patronage and Succour in diſtreſs, make this requeſt to your Lordſhips, which we are apt to think we may eaſily obtain from your City, That the Sentence pronounc'd in behalf of the two Brothers may be ratifi'd and duly executed according to the Intents and Purpoſes for which it was given; and that you will not ſuffer any longer delay of Juſtice, by any Appeal to the Chamber of *Spire*, upon any pretence whatever: For we have requir'd the Opinions of our Lawyers, which we have ſent to your Lordſhips fairly written and ſign'd. But if intreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of neceſſity (and which is no more than according to the cuſtomary Law of Nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the ſeverity of Retaliation muſt take its courſe; which we hope your Prudence will take care to prevent.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
Octob. 16. 1656.

Your Lordſhips moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent* Lewis, *King of* France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

WE are apt to believe that your Majesty receiv'd our Letters dated the 14*th* of *May*, of the last year, wherein we wrote that *John Dethic*, Mayor of *London* that year, and *William Waterford*, Merchant, had by their Petition set forth, That a certain Vessel call'd the *Jonas*, freighted with Goods upon their Accompt, and bound for *Dunkirk*, then under the Jurisdiction of the *French*, was taken at the very Mouth of the *Thames*, by a Sea-Rover, pretending a Commission from the Son of the late King *Charles:* Which being directly contrary to your Edicts, and the Decrees of your Council, That no *English* Ship taken by the Enemies of the *Parlament*, should be admitted into any of your Ports, and there put to sale, they demanded Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from *M. Lestrade*, then Governour of the Town, who return'd 'em an answer no way becoming a Person of his Quality, or who pretended Obedience to his Soveraign; That the Government was conferr'd upon him for his good Service in the Wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seem'd to drive at: As if he had receiv'd that Government of your Majesties free Gift, to authorize him in the robbing your Confederates, and contemning your Edicts set forth in their favour. For what the King of *France* forbids his Subjects any way to have a hand in, that the King's Governor has not only suffer'd to be committed in your Ports,

but he himſelf becomes the Pirate, ſeizes the Prey, and openly avouches the Fact. With this Anſwer therefore the Merchants departed, altogether baffl'd and diſappointed; and this we ſignifi'd by our Letters to your Majeſty the laſt year with little better ſucceſs; for as yet we have receiv'd no reply to thoſe Letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reaſon was, becauſe the Governor was with the Army in *Flanders;* but now he reſides at *Paris*, or rather flutters unpuniſh'd about the City, and at Court, enrich'd with the Spoils of our Merchants. Once more therefore, we make it our requeſt to your Majeſty, which it is your Majeſty's Intereſt in the firſt place to take care of, That no perſon whatever may dare to juſtify the wrongs done to your Majeſty's Confederates by the contempt of your Royal Edicts. Nor can this cauſe be properly referr'd to the Commiſſioners appointed for deciding common Controverſies on both ſides; ſince in this Caſe, not only the rights of Confederates, but your Authority it ſelf, and the Veneration due to the Royal Name, are chiefly in diſpute. And it would be a wonder, that Merchants ſhould be more troubled for their Loſſes, than your Majeſty provok'd at Incroachments upon your Honour. Which while you diſdain to brook, with the ſame labour you will demonſtrate that you neither repent of your friendly Edicts in favour of our Republick, nor conniv'd at the Injuries done by your Subjects, nor neglected to give due reſpect to our demands.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Novemb. — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt bounden by Good-will,
by Friendſhip and Solemn League,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

liver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Frederick III.
King of Denmark, Norway, *the* Vandals *and* Goths;
Duke of Sleswic, Holsatia, Stormatia *and* Ditmarsh;
Count in Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorst, *&c.*

oost Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

WE receiv'd your Majesty's Letters, dated the 16*th* of *February*, from *Copenhagen*, by the most orthy *Simon de Pitkum*, your Majesty's Agent here siding. Which when we had perus'd, the demonations of your Majesty's Good-will towards us, and e importance of the Matter concerning which you rite, affected us to that degree, that we design'd rthwith to send to your Majesty some Person, who ing furnish'd with ample Instructions from us, ight more at large declare to your Majesty our ounsels in that Affair. And tho we have still the ne Resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at sure to think of a Person proper to be entrusted th those Commands which the weight of the mat- requires; tho in a short time we hope to be more liberty. In the mean while we thought it not nvenient any longer to delay the letting your Maty understand, that the present Condition of Affairs *Europe* has employ'd the greatest part of our Care d Thoughts; while for some Years, to our great ief, we have beheld the Protestant Princes, and pream Magistrates of the Reformed Republicks, hom it rather behoves, as being engag'd by the mmon Tye of Religion and Safety, to combine and dy all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual Deice) more and more at weakning Variance among emselves, and jealous of each other's Actions and

Designs; putting their Friends in fear, their Enemies in hope, that the posture of Affairs bodes rather Enmity and Discord, than a firm Agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this sollicitude has fix'd it self so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of Jealousy between your Majesty and the King of *Sweden;* at least, that there is not that conjunction of Affections, which our Love and good Will in general toward the Orthodox Religion so importunately requires: Your Majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the Trade of your Dominions will be prejudic'd by the King of *Sweden;* and on the other side, the King of *Sweden* being jealous, that by your means the War, which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those Alliances which he seeks. 'Tis not unknown to your Majesty, so eminent for your profound Wisdom, how great the Danger is that threatens the Protestant Religion, should such Suspicions long continue between two such potent Monarchs; more especially, which God avert, if any Symptom of Hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the King of *Sweden*, and the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace, and moderate Counsels, (and are beyond expression glad to behold Peace and Concord renew'd between them, for that the Heads of that League are transmitted to us by their Lordships the States General) so we thought it our Duty, and chiefly becoming our Friendship not to conceal from your Majesty what our Sentiments are concerning these Matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your Majesty's most friendly Letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular Testimony of your good Will toward us) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has impos'd upon us all

hat profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, to ſtudy Peace mong our ſelves, and that chiefly at this time, when ur moſt embittered Enemies ſeem to have on every ide conſpir'd our Deſtruction. There's no neceſſity f calling to remembrance the Valleys of *Piemont* ſtill eſmear'd with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable Inhabitants; nor *Auſtria*, tormented at the ame time with the Emperor's Decrees and Proſcripions; nor the impetuous Onſets of the Popiſh upon he Proteſtant *Switzers*. Who can ignorant that he Artifices and Machinations of the *Spaniards*, for ome Years laſt paſt, have fill'd all theſe places with he confus'd and blended havock of Fire and Sword? To which unfortunate Pile of Miſeries, if once the Reformed Brethren ſhould come to add their own Diſſenſions among themſelves, and more eſpecially wo ſuch potent Monarchs, the chiefeſt part of our trength, and among whom ſo large a proviſion of the Proteſtants Security and Puiſſance lies ſtor'd and oarded up againſt Times of Danger, moſt certainly he Intereſts of the Proteſtants muſt go to ruin, and uffer a total and irrecoverable Eclipſe. On the other ide, If Peace continue firmly fix'd between two ſuch owerful Neighbours, and the reſt of the Orthodox Princes; if we would but make it our main Study o abide in brotherly Concord, there would be no auſe, by God's aſſiſtance, to fear neither the Force or Subtilty of our Enemies; all whoſe Endeavours nd laborious Toils our Union alone would be able o diſſipate and fruſtrate. Nor do we queſtion but hat your Majeſty, as you are freely willing, ſo your Willingneſs will be conſtant in contributing your utmoſt Aſſiſtance to procure this bleſſed Peace. To which purpoſe we ſhall be moſt ready to communicate and join our Counſels with your Majeſty; proteſſing a real and cordial Friendſhip, and not only letermin'd inviolably to obſerve the Amity ſo auſ-

piciouſly contracted between us, but, as God ſhall enable us, to bind our preſent Alliance with a more ſtrict and fraternal Bond. In the mean time, the ſame eternal God grant all things proſperous and ſucceſsful to your Majeſty.

From our Court at White-hall,
Decemb. —, 1656.

Your Majeſties moſt cloſely united by Friendſhip, Alliance and good Will, *Oliver*,
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Illuſtrious Prince and Lord, the Lord* William, *Lantgrave of* Heſs, *Prince of* Hereſeldt, *Count in* Cutzenellebogen, *Decia* Ligenhain, Widda *and* Schaunburg, *&c.*

Moſt Serene Prince,

WE had return'd an Anſwer to your Letters ſent us now near a Twelvemonth ſince, for which we beg your Highneſs's Pardon, had not many, and thoſe the moſt important Affairs of the Republick under our care, conſtrain'd us to this unwilling Silence. For what Letters could be more grateful to us, then thoſe which are written from a moſt religious Prince, deſcended from religious Anceſtors, in order to ſettle the Peace of Religion, and the Harmony of the Church? Which Letters attribute to us the ſame Inclinations, the ſame Zeal to promote the Peace of Chriſtendom, not only in your own, but in the Opinion and Judgment of almoſt all the Chriſtian World, and which we are moſt highly glad to find ſo univerſally aſcrib'd to our ſelves. And how far our Endeavours have been ſignal formerly throughout theſe three Kingdoms, and what we have effected by our Exhortations, by our Sufferings, by our Con-

duct, but chiefly by Divine Assistance, the greatest part of our People both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep Tranquillity of their Consciences. The same Peace we have wish'd to the Churches of *Germany*, whose Dissentions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our Agent *Dury*, for many Years in vain endeavouring the same Reconciliation, we have cordially offer'd whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same Determinations, and wish the same fraternal Charity one among another, to those Churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle Peace among those Sons of Peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extream Grief, we more then abundantly understand. For that the Reformed, and those of the *Augustan* Confession, should cement together in a Communion of one Church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impossible by Force to prohibit either from defending their Opinions, whether in private Disputes, or by publick Writings. For Force can never consist with Ecclesiastical Tranquillity. This only were to be wish'd, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more Moderation; and notwithstanding their Disputes, love one another; not imbitter'd against each other as Enemies, but as Brethren, dissenting only in Trifles, though in the Fundamentals of Faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perswading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allow'd to human Force or Counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most Serene Prince, have left behind ye a noble Testimony of your Affection to the Churches, an eternal Monument becoming the Vertue of your Ancestors, and an Exemplar worthy to be follow'd by all Princes. It only then remains

for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your Highness with all the Prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your Mind, then which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his Glory.

Westminster, March —, 1656.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of* Curland.

Most Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly satisfy'd of your Affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertain'd our Embassador in his Journey to the Duke of *Muscovy*, for some days together making a stop in your Territories: Now we are no less confident that your Highness will give us no less obliging Testimonies of your Justice and Equity, as well out of your own good Nature, as at our Request. For we are given to understand, That one *John Johnson*, a Scotchman, and Master of a certain Ship of yours, having faithfully discharg'd his Duty for seven years together in the Service of your Highness, as to your Highness is well known, at length deliver'd the said Ship, call'd the *Whale*, in the Mouth of the River, according as the Custom is, to one of your Pilots, by him to be carried safe into Harbour. But it so fell out, that the Pilot being ignorant of his Duty, though frequently warned and admonish'd by the said *Johnson*, as he has prov'd by several Witnesses, the said Ship ran aground and split to pieces, not through any fault of the Master, but through the want of Skill, or Obstinacy of the Pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest request to your Highness, That neither the said Shipwrack may be imputed

the forementioned *Johnson* the Master, nor that he ay upon that account be depriv'd of the Wages due him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having tely suffer'd another Misfortune at Sea, he hopes ›wever to support and comfort himself in the exemity of his Wants.

From our Court at Westminster,
March —, 1657.

liver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republick of* Dantzick.

Iost Noble and Magnificent, our
dearest Friends;

WE have always esteem'd your City flourishing in Industry, Wealth, and studious care to romote all useful Arts and Sciences, fit to be comır'd with any the most noble Cities of *Europe*. Now regard that in this War that has long been hovering ›out your Confines, you have rather chosen to side ith the *Polanders*, then with the *Swedes*; we are ost heartily desirous, that for the sake of that Relion which you embrace, and of your ancient Comerce with the *English*, you would chiefly adhere to ıose Counsels which may prove most agreeable to ıe Glory of God, and the Dignity and Splendor of ›ur City. Wherefore we intreat ye, for the sake of ıat Friendship which has been long establish'd beveen your selves and the *English* Nation, and if our eputation have obtain'd any Favour or Esteem nong ye, to set at liberty Count *Conismark*, conıicuous among the Principal of the *Swedish* Capıins, and a Person singularly fam'd for his Conduct ı War, but by the Treachery of his own People surriz'd at Sea; wherein you will do no more then

what the Laws of War, not yet exasperated to the heighth, allow; or if you think this is not so agreeable to your Interests, that you will however deem him worthy a more easy and less severe Confinement. Which of these two Favours soever you shall determin to grant us, you will certainly perform an Act becoming the Reputation of your City, and highly oblige besides the most famous Warriers and most eminent Captains of all Parties: and lastly, lay upon our selves an Obligation not the meanest; and perhaps it may be worth your Interest to gratify us.

From our Court at Westminster,
April —, 1657.
Your Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and great Duke of all* Russia, *sole Lord of* Volodomaria, Moscow *and* Novograge, *King of* Cazan, Astracan *and* Syberia, *Lord of* Vobscow, *great Duke of* Smolensko, Tuerscoy, *and other Places. Lord and great Duke of* Novogrod, *and the Lower Provinces of* Chernigoy, Rezansco, *and others. Lord of all the* Northern Climes; *also Lord of* Eversco, Cartalinsca, *and many other Places.*

ALl Men know how ancient the Friendship, and how vast the Trade has been for a long train of Years between the English Nation and the People of your Empire: But that singular Vertue, most *August Emperor*, which in your Majesty far outshines the Glory of your Ancestors; and the high Opinion which all the Neighbouring Princes have of it, more especially moves us to pay a more then ordinary Ve-

eration and Affection to your Majesty, and to desire he imparting of some things to your Consideration, which may conduce to the Good of *Christendom* and our own Interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplish'd *Richard Bradshaw*, a Person of whose Fidelity, Integrity, Prudence, and Experience n Affairs, we are well assur'd, as having been imploy'd by us in several other Negotiations of this nature, under the Character of our Agent to your Majesty; to the end he may more at large make known o your Majesty our singular good Will and high Respect toward so puissant a Monarch, and transact with your Majesty concerning the Matters abovemention'd. Him therefore we request your Majesty favourably to receive in our Name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free Access to your Person, and no less gracious Audience; and lastly, to give the same Credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to our selves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty and the Russian Empire with all Prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster,
April —, 1657.
Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver*,
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

THe most honourable *William Jepson*, Colonel of Horse, and a Senator in our Parlament, who will have the Honour to deliver these Letters to your

Majesty, will make known to your Majesty, with what Disturbance and Grief of Mind we receiv'd the News of the fatal War broke out between your Majesty and the King of *Danemark*, and how much it is our cordial and real Endeavour, not to neglect any Labour or Duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Mischief, and those Calamities averted, which of necessity this War will bring upon the common Cause of Religion; more especially at this time, now that our Adversaries unite their Forces and pernicious Counsels against the Profession and Professors of the Orthodox Faith. These and some other Considerations of great importance to the Benefit and Publick Interests of both Nations, have induc'd us to send this Gentleman to your Majesty under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy. Whom we therefore desire your Majesty kindly to receive, and to give Credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your Majesty in our Name; as being a Person in whose Fidelity and Prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, That your Majesty will be pleas'd fully to assure your self of our Good-will and most undoubted Zeal, as well toward your Majesty, as for the Prosperity of your Affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepar'd with all imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable Testimonies upon all occasions.

From our Court at Westminster,
August — 1657.

Your Majesty's Friend, and most strictly co-united Confederate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

liver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene Prince, the Lord Frederick William, *Marquess of* Brandenburgh, *High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of* Magdeburgh, Prussia, Juliers, Cleves, Monts, Stettin, Pomerania, *of the* Cassiubiands *and* Vandals, *as also of* Silesia, Crosna *and* Carnovia, Burgrave *of* Norrinburgh, *Prince of* Halberstadt *and* Minda, *Count of* Mark *and* Ravensbergh, *Lord in* Ravenstein.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

MUch is the Fame of your Highness's Vertue and Prudence, both in Peace and War, and so loudly ›read through all the World, that all the Princes ›und about are ambitious of your Friendship: nor ›es any one desire a more faithful or constant Friend ıd Associate: Therefore to the end your Highness ıay know that we are also in the number of those ıat have the highest and most honourable thoughts f your Person and Merits, so well deserving of the Commonwealth of *Christendom*, we have sent the most Worthy Col. *Will. Jepson*, a Senator in our Parlament, ı our Name to kiss your Highness's hands; and vithal to wish the continuance of all Prosperity to our Affairs, and in words at large to express our Good-will and Affection to your Serenity; and therefore make it our Request, That you will vouchsafe o give him Credit in those Matters concerning which ıe has Instructions to treat with your Highness, as f all things were attested and confirm'd by our personal Presence.

From our Court at Whitehall,
August — 1657.

Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Hamborough.

Moſt Noble, moſt Magnificent
and Worthy,

THe moſt accompliſh'd, Colonel *William Jepſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, being ſent by us to the moſt ſerene King of *Sweden*, is to travel through your City; and therefore we have given him in command, not to paſs by your Lordſhips unſaluted in our Name; and withal to make it our Requeſt, That you will be ready to aſſiſt him upon whatſoever occaſion he ſhall think it requiſite to crave the Aid of your Authority and Counſel. Which the more willingly you ſhall do, the more you ſhall find you have acquir'd our Favour.

From our Court at Weſtm.
Aug. — 1657.

To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of Breme.

HOw great our Affection is toward your City, how particular our Good-will, as well upon the account of your Religion, as for the celebrated Splendor of your City, as formerly you have found; ſo when occaſion offers, you ſhall be further ſenſible. At preſent, in regard the moſt accompliſh'd Colonel *William Jepſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, is to travel through *Bremen* with the Character of our *Envoy Extraordinary* to the King of *Sweden*, 'tis our pleaſure that he ſalute your Lordſhips lovingly and friendly in our Name; and that if any Accident fall out, wherein your Aſſiſtance and Friendſhip may be

ſerviceable to him, that he may have free admiſſion to deſire it, upon the ſcore of our Alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the leſs be wanting, by how much the more reaſon you will have to be aſſur'd of our ſingular Love and Kindneſs for your Lordſhips.

From our Court at Whitehall,
Auguſt — 1657.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Noble the Senators and Conſuls of the City of* Lubeck.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful, our dearest Friends;

COlonel *William Jepſon*, a Perſon of great Honour, and a Senator in our Parlament, is to paſs with the Character of a Publick Miniſter from your City to the King of *Sweden*, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we deſire your Lordſhips, that if occaſion require, upon the account of the Friendſhip and Commerce between us, you will be aſſiſtant to him in his Journey through your City, and the Territories under your Juriſdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleaſure, that you be ſaluted in our Name, and that you be aſſur'd of our Good-will and ready Inclinations to ſerve your Lordſhips.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Auguſt — 1657.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the City of* Hamborough.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful;

P*Hilip Meadows*, who brings theſe Letters to your Lordſhips, is to travel through your City with the Character of our Agent to the King of *Denmark*.

Therefore we moſt earneſtly recommend him to your Lordſhips, that if any occaſion ſhould happen for him to deſire it, you would be ready to aid him with your Authority and Aſſiſtance: And we deſire that this our Recommendation may have the ſame weight at preſent with your Lordſhips as formerly it wont to have; nor ſhall we be wanting to your Lordſhips upon the ſame Opportunities.

From our Court at Whitehall,
Auguſt — 1657.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Frederick *Heir of* Norway, *Duke of* Sleſwic, Holſatia, *and* Ditmarſh, *Count in* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorſt.

Moſt Serene Prince, our
dereſt Friend;

COlonel *William Jepſon*, a Perſon truly noble in his Country, and a Senator in our Parlament, is ſent by us, as our Envoy Extraordinary to the moſt Serene King of *Sweden;* and may it prove happy and proſperous for the common Peace and Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*. We have given him Inſtructions, among other things, That in his Journey, after he has kiſs'd your *Serenities* hands in our Name, and declar'd our former Good-will and conſtant Zeal for your Welfare, to requeſt of your *Serenity* alſo, That being guarded with your Authority, he may travel with ſafety and convenience through your Territories. By which kind act of Civility, your Highneſs will in a greater meaſure oblige us to returns of anſwerable kindneſs.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Aug. — 1657.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

Moſt Serene Great Duke, our
dereſt Friend;

THe Company of our Merchants, trading to the *Eaſtern* Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, by their Petition to us, have ſet forth, That *William Ellis*, Maſter of a Ship call'd the *Little Lewis*, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, was hir'd by the *Baſha* of *Memphis*, to carry Rice, Sugar, and Coffee, either to *Conſtantinople* or *Smyrna*, for the uſe of the *Grand Seignior;* but that contrary to his Faith and Promiſe given, he bore away privately from the *Ottoman* Fleet, and brought his Ship and Lading to *Leghorn*, where now he lives in poſſeſſion of his Prey. Which villanous Act being of dangerous Example, as exposing the Chriſtian Name to ſcandal, and the Fortunes of our Merchants living under the *Turks* to violence and ranſack; we therefore make it our Requeſt to your Highneſs, That you will give Command that the ſaid Maſter be apprehended and imprison'd, and that the Veſſel and Goods may remain under Seizure, till we ſhall have given notice of our Care for the reſtitution of thoſe Goods to the *Sultan:* Aſſuring your Highneſs of our readineſs to make ſutable Returns of Gratitude whenever opportunity preſents it ſelf.

From our Court at Weſtm.
Septemb. — 1657.

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord* Frederic William, *Marquess of* Brandenburgh, *&c.*

Most Serene Prince, our most dear
Friend and Confederate;

BY our last Letters to your Highness, either already or shortly to be deliver'd by our Embassador *William Jepson*, we have imparted the Substance of our Embassy to your Highness; which we could not do without some mention of your great Vertues, and demonstration of our own Good-will and Affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have glided over your transcending Deservings of the Protestant Interests; we thought it proper to resume the same Subject, and pay our Respect and Veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of Mind, but somewhat more at large to your Highness: And truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our Ears, That your Faith and Conscience, by all manner of Artifices tempted and assail'd, by all manner of Arts and Devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any Violence be rent from your Friendship and Alliance with a most magnanimous Prince and your Confederate: And this, when the Affairs of the *Swedes* are now reduc'd to that condition, that in adhering to their Alliance, 'tis manifest that your Highness rather consults the common Cause of the Reformed Religion, than your own Advantage. And when your Highness is almost surrounded and besieg'd by Enemies, either privately lurking, or almost at your Gates; yet such is your Constancy and Resolution of Mind, such your Conduct and Prowess becoming a great General, that the burden and massy Bulk of the whole Affair, and the Event of this important War, seems to rest and depend upon your sole Determina-

tion. Wherefore your Highness has no reason to question but that you may rely upon our Friendship and unfeigned Affection; who should think our selves worthy to be forsaken of all Mens good Word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemish'd Fidelity, your Constancy, and the rest of your applauded Vertues; or should we pay less respect to your Highness upon the common score of Religion. As to those matters propounded by the most accomplish'd *John Frederic Schlever*, your Counsellor and Agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an Answer, such as we desir'd to do, though with all assiduity and diligence labour'd by your Agent; we intreat your Highness to impute it to the present condition of our Affairs, and to be assur'd, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your Interests, so bound up with the Cause of Religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of Mercy and Power, that so signal a Prowess and Fortitude may never languish or be oppress'd, nor be depriv'd the Fruit and due Applause of all your pious Undertakings.

From our Court at Westminster,
Sept. — 1657.
Your Highness's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

To the most Excellent Lord, M. de Bourdeaux, *Extraordinary Embassador from the most Serene King of* France.

Most Excellent Lord;

Lucas Lucie Merchant of *London*, has made his Complaint to the most Serene Lord Protector, concerning a certain Ship of his, call'd the *Mary*; which in her Voyage from *Ireland* to *Bayonne*, being

driven by Tempeſt into the Port of *St. John de Luz*, was there detain'd by virtue of an Arreſt, at the Suit of one *Martin de Lazan*; nor could ſhe be diſcharg'd till the Merchants had given Security to ſtand a Trial for the Property of the ſaid Ship and Lading. For *Martin* pretended to have a great Sum of Money owing to him by the Parlament for ſeveral Goods of his, which in the Year 1642, were ſeiz'd by Authority of Parlament, in a certain Ship call'd the *Santa Clara*. But it is manifeſt, That *Martin* was not the Owner of the ſaid Goods, only that he proſecuted the Claim of the true Owners *Richard* and *Iriat*, together with his Partner, whoſe Name was *Antonio Fernendez*; and that upon the ſaid *Martin* and *Antonio's* falling out among themſelves, the Parlament decreed that the ſaid Goods ſhould be ſtopp'd till the Law ſhould decide to which of the two they were to be reſtor'd. Upon this, *Antony* was deſirous that the Action ſhould proceed; on the other ſide, neither *Martin*, nor any body for him, has hitherto appear'd in Court: All which is evidently apparent by *Lucas's* Petition hereto annex'd. So that it ſeems moſt unreaſonable, That he who refus'd to try his pretended Title with *Antonio*, to other Mens Goods, in our own Courts, ſhould compel our People, and the true Owners, to go to Law for their own in a Foreign Dominion. And that the ſame is apparent to your Excellency's Equity and Prudence, the moſt Serene Lord Protector makes no queſtion; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honeſt Cauſe of *Lucas Lucie* to your Excellency's Conſideration; to the end that *Martin*, who neglects to try his pretended Right here, may not under that Pretence have an opportunity in the *French* Dominions to deprive others of their rightful Claims.

Weſtm. Octob. —, 1657.

Your Excellency's moſt Affectionate.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene Duke, and Senate of the Republick of* Venice.

Most Serene Duke and Senate, our dearest Friends;

SO numerous are the Tydings brought us of your fortunate Successes against the *Turks*, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our Pens, than in congratulating your *Serenities* for some signal Victory. For this so recently obtain'd, we give ye Joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your Republick; but which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under *Turkish* Servitude. More particularly we recommend to your *Serenity* and the Senate *Thomas Galily*, formerly Master of the Ship call'd the *Relief*, who for these five Years together has been a Slave; tho this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary Exultation. He having receiv'd your Commands, to serve your Republick with his Ship, and engaging alone with several of the Enemies Gallies, sunk some, and made a great havock among the rest: but at length his Ship being burnt, the brave Commander, and so well deserving of the *Venetian* Republick, was taken, and ever since for five Years together, has endur'd a miserable Bondage under the Barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your Highness and the Senate, upon the account either of his Ship, his Goods, or for his Wages. Now in regard he may not want Relief, and for that the Enemy refuses to

diſcharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of ſome other Perſon of equal Value and Reputation to himſelf; we moſt earneſtly entreat your Highneſs, and the moſt Serene Senate; and the afflicted old Man, Father of the ſaid *Thomas*, full of Grief and Tears, which not a little mov'd us, by our Interceſſion begs, That in regard ſo many proſperous Combats have made ye Maſters of ſo many *Turkiſh* Priſoners, you will exchange ſome one of their Number, whom the Enemy will accept for ſo ſtout a Seaman taken in your Service, our Countryman, and the only Son of a moſt ſorrowful Father. Laſtly, That whatſoever is due to him from the Republick, upon the ſcore of Wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to ſee it paid to his Father, or to whom he ſhall appoint to receive it. The Effect of our firſt Requeſt, or rather of your Equity, was this, That the whole Matter was examin'd, and upon an exact ſtating of the Accounts the Debt was agreed; but perhaps by reaſon of more important Buſineſs intervening, no Paiment enſu'd upon it. Now the Condition of the miſerable Creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore ſome endeavour muſt be us'd, if it be worth your while to deſire his Welfare, that he may ſpeedily be deliver'd from the noyſom ſtench of Impriſonment. Which, as you flouriſh no leſs in Juſtice, Moderation and Prudence, than in Military Fame and Victorious Succeſs, we are confident you will ſee done, of your own innate Humanity and Free-will, without any Heſitation, without any Incitement of ours. Now that ye may long flouriſh, after a moſt potent Enemy ſubdu'd, our daily Prayers implore of the Almighty.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Octob. —, 1657.

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*,
Protector of the Commonwealth
of *England*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

THe most illustrious *William Nuport*, your extraordinary Embassador for some Years residing with us, is now returning to your Lordships; but with his condition, that after this respit obtain'd from your Lordships, he shall return again in a short time. For he has remain'd among us, in the discharge of his Trust, with that Fidelity, Vigilance, Prudence and Equity, that neither you nor we could desire greater Vertue and Probity in an Embassador, and a Person of unblemished Reputation; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve Peace and Friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the Duty of your Embassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either Nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of Mind, considering the present juncture of Times and Affairs, were we not assur'd, that no Man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your Lordships, either the present condition of Affairs, or our Good-will and Affection to your Government. Being therefore every way so excellent a Person, and so well deserving both of yours and our Republick, we request your Lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real Testimonials of our Applauses. Almighty God grant all Prosperity to your Affairs, and perpetuate our Friendship, to his Glory, and the support of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Westminster,

November — 1657.

Your High and Mightinesses most devoted.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

GEorge *Downing* is a Person of eminent Quality, and after a long trial of his Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in several and various Negotiations, well approv'd and valu'd by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignify'd with the Character of our Agent, and amply furnish'd with our Instructions. We therefore desire your Lordships to receive him kindly, and that so often as he shall signify that he has any thing to impart in our Name to your Lordships, you will admit him free Audience, and give the same Credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us; which you may safely do, as if our selves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Lordships, and your Republick with all Prosperity, to the Glory of God, and the Support of his Church.

From our Court at White-Hall,
Decemb. — 1657.

Your High and Mightinesses most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

To the States of Holland.

THere being an Alliance between our Republick and yours, and those Affairs to be transacted on both sides, that without an Agent and Interpreter, sent either by your selves, or from us, matters

of ſuch great moment can hardly be adjuſted to the advantage of both Nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both Republicks to ſend *George Downing*, a Perſon of eminent Quality, and long in our Knowledg and Eſteem for his undoubted Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in many and various Negotiations, dignified with the Character of our Agent, to reſide with your Lordſhips, and chiefly to take care of thoſe things, by which the Peace between us may be preſerv'd entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the *States*, but alſo thought it requiſite to give notice alſo of the ſame to your Lordſhips, ſupreme in the Government of your Province, and who make ſo conſiderable a part of the *United Provinces*; to the end you may give that reception to our Reſident which becomes him, and that whatever he tranſacts with your *High and Mighty States*, you may aſſure your ſelves ſhall be as firm and irrevocable, as if our ſelves had bin preſent in the Negotiation. Now the moſt merciful God direct all your Counſels and Actions to his Glory, and the Peace of his Church.

Weſtminſter, Decemb. — 1657.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince*, Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

Moſt Serene Great Duke, our much
Honour'd Friend;

YOur Highneſs's Letters, bearing date from *Florence* the 10th of *November*, gave us no ſmall occaſion of Content and Satisfaction; finding therein your Good-will towards us, ſo much the more conſpicuous, by how much Deeds than Words, Performances than Promiſes, are the more certain

marks of a cordial Affection. For what we requeſted of your Highneſs, that you would command the Maſter of the *Little Lewis*, *William Ellis*, who moſt ignominiouſly broke his Faith with the *Turks*, and the Ship and Goods to be ſeiz'd and detain'd, till Reſtitution ſhould be made to the *Turks*, leſt the *Chriſtian* Name ſhould receive any Blemiſh by Thieveries of the like nature; all thoſe things, and that too with an extraordinary Zeal, as we moſt gladly underſtood before, your Highneſs writes that you have ſeen diligently perform'd. We therefore return our Thanks for the Kindneſs receiv'd, and make it our farther requeſt, that when the Merchants have given Security to ſatisfie the *Turks*, the Maſter may be diſcharged, and the Ship, together with her Lading, be forthwith diſmiſs'd, to the end we may not ſeem to have had more care perhaps of the *Turks* Intereſt, than our own Country-men. In the mean time we take ſo kindly this ſurpaſſing Favour done us by your Highneſs, and moſt acceptable to us, that we ſhould not refuſe to be branded with Ingratitude, if we ſhould not ardently deſire a ſpeedy opportunity, with the ſame promptitude of Mind, to gratifie your Highneſs, whereby we might be enabl'd to demonſtrate our readineſs to return the ſame good Offices to ſo noble a Benefactor upon all occaſions.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Decemb. — 1657.

Your Highneſſes moſt affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most Invincible Friend and Confederate;

BY your Majesty's Letters, dated the 21st of *February* from your Camp in *Seland*, we found many reasons to be affected with no small Joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Christian Republick in general. In the first place, because the King of *Denmark*, being become an Enemy, not induc'd thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own Inclinations or Interests, but deluded by the Artifices of our common Adversaries, is reduc'd to that condition by your sudden irruption into the very Heart of his Kingdom, with very little Blood shed on either side, that what was really true, he will at length be perswaded that Peace would have bin more beneficial to him, than the War which he has enter'd into against your Majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our Assistance, long since offer'd him to procure a Reconciliation, in regard your Majesty so readily intreated by the Letters only deliver'd by our Agent, by such an easy concession of Peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteem'd the Intercession of our Friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us; and then our Interposition in so pious a work, will chiefly require, that we should be the sole Reconciler and almost Author of that Peace, so beneficial to the Interests of the Protestants; which, as we hope, will suddenly

be accompliſh'd. For when the Enemies of Religion ſhall deſpair of breaking your united Forces by any other means than ſetting both your Majeſties at variance, then their own fears will overtake 'em, leſt this unexpected Conjunction, which we ardently deſire, of your Arms and Minds, ſhould turn to the deſtruction of them that were the Kindlers of the War. In the mean time, moſt Magnanimous King, may your Proweſs go on and proſper; and the ſame felicity which the Enemies of the Church have admir'd in the progreſs of your Atchievements, and the ſteady Career of your Victories againſt a Prince, now your Confederate, the ſame by God's Aſſiſtance, may you enforce 'em to behold once more in their Subverſion.

From our Palace at Weſtminſter,
March 30. 1658.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the moſt Serene Prince, Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

Moſt Serene Prince;

THe Anſwer which we have given to your Agent here reſiding, we believe, will fully ſatisfy your Highneſs as to our Admiral, who but lately put into your Ports. In the mean time, *John Hoſier*, Maſter of a Ship, call'd the *Owner*, has ſet forth in a Petition to us, that in *April* 1656. he hir'd out his Ship by a Charter-party Agreement, to one *Joſeph Arman*, an *Italian*, who manifeſtly broke all the Covenants therein contain'd; ſo that he was enforc'd, leſt he ſhould loſe his Ship and Lading, together with his whole principal Stock, openly to ſet forth the fraud of his Freighter, after the manner of Merchants; and when he had caus'd it to be regiſter'd by a Publick Notary,

to sue him at *Leghorn*. *Joseph*, on the other side, that he might make good one Fraud by another, combining with two other litigious Traders, upon a feign'd Pretence, by Perjury, seiz'd upon six thousand *Pieces of Eight*, the Money of one *Thomas Clutterbuck*. But as for his part, the said *Hosier*, after great Expences and loss of time, could never obtain his Right and Due at *Leghorn*: Nor durst he there appear in Court, being threaten'd as he was, and waylay'd by his Adversaries. We therefore request your Highness, that you would vouchsafe your Assistance to this poor oppreſt Man, and according to your wonted Justice, restrain the Insolence of his Adversary. For in vain are Laws ordain'd for the Government of Cities by the Authority of Princes, if Wrong and Violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by Threats and Terror to frustrate the Refuge and Sanctuary of the Laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your Highness will speedily take care to punish a daring Boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your Highness with Peace and Prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster,
April 7. 1658.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most August Friend and Confederate;

YOur Majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the League between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many Advantages from thence accruing to both Nations, and the many Annoyances thence attending the common Enemy, sufficiently testify those

dreadful Butcheries that befel the *Piemontois*, and that we recommended with great fervency of Mind and Compaſſion, their Cauſe on all ſides forſaken and afflicted, to your Commiſeration and Protection. Nor do we believe that your Majeſty, of yourſelf, was wanting in a Duty ſo pious, that we may not ſay, beſeeming common Humanity, as far as your Authority, and the Veneration due to your Perſon, could prevail with the Duke of *Savoy*. Certain we are, that neither our ſelves, nor many other Princes and Cities were wanting in our Performances, by the Interpoſition of Embaſſies, Letters, and Intreaties. After a moſt bloody Butchery of both Sexes, and all Ages, at length Peace was granted, or rather a certain clandeſtine Hoſtility cover'd over with the name of Peace. The Conditions of Peace were agreed in your Town of *Pignerol;* ſevere and hard, but ſuch as thoſe miſerable and indigent Creatures, after they had ſuffer'd all that could be endur'd that was oppreſſive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but obſerv'd, as hard and unjuſt as they were. But by falſe Conſtructions, and various Evaſions, the Aſſurances of all theſe Articles are eluded and violated: Many are thruſt out from their ancient Abodes; many are forbid the Exerciſe of their Religion, new Tributes are exacted, a new Citadel is impos'd upon them; from whence the Souldiers frequently making Excurſions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new Levies are privately preparing againſt 'em, and all that embrace the *Proteſtant Religion* are commanded to depart by a prefix'd day; ſo that all things ſeem to threaten the utter extermination of thoſe deplorable Wretches, whom the former Maſſacre ſpar'd. Which I moſt earneſtly beſeech and conjure ye, *Moſt Chriſtian King*, by *that* RIGHT HAND *which ſign'd the League* and Friendſhip between us, by *that ſame goodly Ornament of your Title*

of MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to ſuffer, nor to permit ſuch liberty of Rage and Fury uncontroul'd, we will not ſay, in any Prince, (for certainly ſuch barbarous Severity could never enter the Breaſt of any Prince, much leſs ſo tender in Years, nor into the female thoughts of his Mother) but in thoſe ſanctifi'd Cut-throats, who profeſſing themſelves to be the Servants and Diſciples of our Saviour Chriſt, who came into this World to ſave Sinners, abuſe his meek and peaceful Name and Precepts to the moſt cruel ſlaughter of the Innocent. Reſcue, you that are able in your towring Station, worthy to be able, reſcue ſo many Suppliants proſtrate at your feet, from the hands of Ruffians, who lately drunk with Blood, again thirſt after it, and think it their ſafeſt way to throw the Odium of their Cruelty upon Princes. But as for you, great Prince, ſuffer not, while you reign, your Titles, nor the Confines of your Kingdom, to be contaminated with this ſame Heaven-offending Scandal, nor the peaceful Goſpel of Chriſt to be defil'd with ſuch abominable Cruelty. Remember that they ſubmitted themſelves to your Grandfather *Henry*, moſt friendly to the Proteſtants, when the victorious *Leſdiguieres* purſu'd the retreating *Savoyard* o're the *Alpes*. There is alſo an Inſtrument of that Submiſſion regiſter'd among the publick Acts of your Kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, That from that time forward the *Piemontois* ſhould not be deliver'd over into the Power of any Ruler, but upon the ſame Conditions upon which your invincible Grandfather receiv'd them into his Protection. This Protection of your Grandfather, theſe Suppliants now implore from you as Grandchild. 'Tis your Majeſty's part, to whom thoſe People now belong, to give 'em that Protection which they have choſen, by ſome exchange of Habitation, if they deſire it, and it may

be done: Or if that be a Labour too difficult, at least to succour 'em with your Patronage, your Commiseration, and your admittance into Sanctuary. And there are some Reasons of State to encourage your Majesty not to refuse the *Piemontois* a safe *Asylum* in your Kingdom: But I am unwilling that you, so great a King, should be induc'd to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other Arguments than those of your Ancestor's pledg'd Faith, your own Piety, Royal Benignity and Magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire Glory of a most egregious Act will be your own, and you will find the Father of Mercy, and his Son, *King Christ*, whose Name and Doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious Inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your Majesty, all your days. The God of Mercy and Power infuse into your Majesty's Heart a Resolution to defend and save so many innocent Christians, and maintain your own Honour.

Westminster, May — 1658.

To the Evangelick Cities of the Switzers.

Illustrious and most Noble Lords, our dearest Friends;

HOw heavy and intolerable the Sufferings of the *Piemontois*, your most afflicted Neighbours, have bin, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own Prince, for the sake of their Religion, by reason of the fierceness of the Cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your Lordships. We have also seen Copies of the Letters which your Embassadors, Promoters and Witnesses of the Peace concluded at *Pignerol*, wrote to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the President

of his Council at *Turin;* wherein they ſet forth, and make it out, that all the Conditions of the ſaid Peace are broken, and were rather a Snare than a Security to thoſe miſerable People. Which Violation continu'd from the Concluſion of the Peace to this very moment, and ſtill grows more heavy every day than other; unleſs they patiently endure, unleſs they lay themſelves down to be trampl'd under foot, plaſh'd like Mortar, or abjure their Religion, the ſame Calamities, the ſame Slaughters hang over their Heads, which three years ſince made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, their Wives and Children; and which, if it muſt be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole Race. What ſhall ſuch miſerable Creatures do? in whoſe behalf no Interceſſion will avail, to whom no breathing time is allow'd, nor any certain place of Refuge. They have to do with wild Beaſts, or Furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former Murders has wrought no Compaſſion upon their Countrymen, no ſenſe of Humanity, nor ſatiated their ravenous thirſt after Blood. Moſt certainly theſe things are not to be endur'd, if we deſire the ſafety of our Brethren the *Piemontois*, moſt antient Profeſſors of the Orthodox Faith, or the welfare of our Religion it ſelf. As for our ſelves, ſo far remote, we have not been wanting to aſſiſt 'em as far as in us lay, nor ſhall we ceaſe our future Aid. But you, who not only lie ſo near adjoining, as to behold the Butcheries, and hear the outcries and ſhrieks of the Diſtreſſed, but are alſo next expos'd to the fury of the ſame Enemies; conſider for the ſake of the Immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: conſult your Prudence, your Piety, and your Fortitude; what ſuccour, what relief and ſafeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your Neighbours and Brethren, who muſt elſe undoubtedly and ſpeedily periſh. Cer-

tainly the ſame Religion is the cauſe, why the ſame Enemies ſeek alſo your Perdition; why, at the ſame time the laſt year, they meditated your ruin, by inteſtine Broils among your ſelves. It ſeems to be only in your Power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this moſt antient *Scien* of the purer Religion, in theſe remainders of the Primitive Believers; whoſe preſervation, now reduc'd to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next Turn be not your own. Theſe Admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly Love, we are not quite as yet caſt down: For what lies only in our Power ſo far diſtant, as we have hitherto, ſo ſhall we ſtill employ our utmoſt Endeavours, not only to procure the ſafety of our Brethren upon the precipice of danger, but alſo to relieve their Wants. May the Almighty God vouchſafe to both of us that Peace and Tranquillity at home, that ſettlement of Times and Affairs, that we may be able to employ all our Wealth and Force, all our Studies and Counſels in the defence of his Church againſt the Rage and Fury of her Enemies.

From our Court at White-hall,
May —, 1658.

To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

THe late moſt grievous Cruelties, and moſt bloody Slaughters perpetrated upon the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piemont*, within the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions, occaſion'd the writing of the inclos'd Letters to his Majeſty, and theſe other to your *Eminency*. And as we make no doubt but that ſuch Tyranny, Inhumanities, ſo rigorouſly inflicted upon

harmleſs and indigent People, are highly diſpleaſing and offenſive to the moſt Serene King; ſo we readily perſwade our ſelves, that what we requeſt from his Majeſty in behalf of thoſe unfortunate Creatures, your Eminency will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our Interceſſions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquir'd more good-will and affection to the *French* Nation, among all the neighbouring Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, than that Liberty and thoſe Privileges, which by publick Acts and Edicts are granted in that Kingdom to the Proteſtants. And this among others was one main Reaſon, why this Republick ſo ardently deſir'd the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *French* People. For the ſetling of which we are now treating with the King's Embaſſador, and have made thoſe progreſſes, that the Treaty is almoſt brought to a Concluſion. Beſides that, your Eminency's ſingular Benignity and Moderation, which in the management of the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom, you have always teſtifi'd to the Proteſtants of *France*, encourages us to expect what we promiſe to our ſelves from your Prudence and Generoſity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a ſtricter Alliance between this Republick and the Kingdom of *France*, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good Offices of Civility and Kindneſs: And of this we deſire your Eminency to reſt aſſur'd.

Your Eminency's moſt Affectionate.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our most August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of *Thomas* Viscount *Falconbridge,* our Son-in-Law, to travel into *France,* and no less his desire, out of his profound Respect and Veneration to your Majesty, to be admitted to kiss your Royal Hands; though by reason of his pleasing Conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the Court of so great a Prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and couragious Persons, more nobly prepar'd for great Performances, and fully accomplish'd in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and vertuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his generous Resolutions. And though he be a Person, who, unless we deceive our selves, carries his own Recommendations about him, wheresoe're he goes; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favour'd by your Majesty for our sake, we shall think our selves honour'd and oblig'd by the same Kindness. God Almighty long preserve your Majesty in safety, and continue a lasting Peace between us, to the common Good of the Christian World.

From our Court at White-Hall,
May — 1658.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAving recommended to the most Serene King, *Thomas* Viscount *Falconbridge* our Son-in-Law, desirous to see *France;* we could not but acquaint your Eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to your self, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our Recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your Country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your Favour and Good-will; whose single Prudence and Vigilancy supports and manages the grand Affairs of that Kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful Obligation your Eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assur'd you lay upon our selves, and that we shall number it among your many Kindnesses and Civilities already shew'd us.

Westminster, May — 1658.

Oliver, *Protector, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAving sent the most illustrious *Thomas Bellasis*, Viscount *Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate the King upon his arrival in the Camp at *Dunkirk*, I gave him Order to attend and wish your Eminency long Life and Health in our Name,

and to return Thanks to your Eminency, by whoſe Fidelity, Prudence and Vigilancy, it chiefly comes to paſs, that the Affairs of *France* are carri'd on with ſuch Succeſs in ſeveral parts, but more eſpecially in near adjoining *Flanders*, againſt our common Enemy the *Spaniard*; from whom we hope that open and armed Courage now will ſoon exact a rigorous account of all his Frauds and Treacheries. Which that it may be ſpeedily done, we ſhall not be wanting, either with our Forces, as far as in us lies, or with our Prayers to Heaven.

From our Court at White-Hall,
May — 1658.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince*, Lewis *King of* France.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;

SO ſoon as the News was brought us, That your Majeſty was arriv'd in your Camp, and was ſate down with ſo conſiderable an Army before *Dunkirk*, that infamous neſt of Pyrates, and place of Refuge for Sea-robbers, we were greatly overjoy'd, in certain aſſurance that in a ſhort time now, with God's Aſſiſtance, the Seas will be more open and leſs infeſted by thoſe plundering Rovers; and that your Majeſty, by your Military Proweſs, will now take ſpeedy Vengeance of the *Spaniſh* Frauds; by whom one Captain was by Gold corrupted to the betraying of *Heſden*, another treacherouſly ſurpriz'd at *Oſtend*. We therefore ſend the moſt Noble, *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate your Majeſty's arrival in your Camp ſo near us, and that your Majeſty may underſtand from

his own Lips, with what Affection we labour the Prosperity of your Atchievements, not only with our united Forces, but with our cordial Prayers, that God would long preserve your Majesty, and perpetuate our establish'd Friendship, to the common Good of the Christian World.

From our Court at Westminster,
May — 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand *Grand Duke of* Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke,

IN regard your Highness in all your Letters has ever signifi'd your extraordinary Affection toward us, we are not a little griev'd, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your Governors and Ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your Port of *Leghorn*, where your Friendship toward us ought to be most clearly and truly understood: Rather, that we should find the Minds of your Subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our Fleet was lately treated at *Leghorn*, how little accommodated with necessary Supplies, in what a Hostile manner twice constrain'd to depart the Harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand as well from undoubted Witnesses upon the Place, as from our Admiral himself, to whose Relation we cannot but give Credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our Fleet. Upon his first arrival in *January*, after he had caus'd our Letters to be deliver'd to your Highness, and all Offices of Civility had pass'd between our People and yours; when he desir'd the Accommodation of *Porto Ferraro*; answer was made, it could not be granted,

moſt fortunate, to our united Forces againſt our Enemies, we rejoice with your Majeſty for it; and that our People in that Battel were not wanting to your Aſſiſtance, nor the Military Glory of their Anceſtors, nor their own priſtine Fortitude, is moſt grateful to us. As for *Dunkirk*, which as your Majeſty wrote, you were in hope was near Surrender: 'tis a great addition to our Joy to hear from your Majeſty ſuch ſpeedy Tidings, that it is abſolutely now in your victorious hands; and we hope moreover, that the loſs of one City will not ſuffice to repay the twofold Treachery of the *Spaniard*, but that your Majeſty will in a ſhort time write us the welcome News of the Surrender alſo of the other Town. As to your Promiſe, That you will take care of our Intereſts, we miſtruſt it not in the leaſt, upon the Word of a moſt Excellent King, and our moſt aſſured Friend, confirm'd withal by your Embaſſador, the moſt accompliſh'd Duke of *Crequi*. Laſtly, We beſeech Almighty God to proſper your Majeſty and the Affairs of *France*, both in Peace and War.

Weſtminſter, June — 1658.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.

Moſt Eminent Lord;

WHile we are returning Thanks to the moſt Serene King, who to honour and congratulate us, as alſo to intermix his Joy with ours for the late glorious Victory, has ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy to our Court; we ſhould be ungrateful, ſhould we not alſo by our Letters pay our due Acknowledgments to your *Eminency;* who to teſtify your Good-will towards us, and how much you make it your ſtudy to do us all the Honour which lies within your Power, have ſent

your Nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplish'd young Gentleman; and if you had any nearer Relation, or any Person whom you valu'd more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your Letters; adding withal the Reason, which coming from so great a Personage, we deem no small advantage to our Praise and Ornament; that is to say, to the end that they who are most nearly related to your Eminency in Blood, might learn to imitate your Eminency, in shewing Respect and Honour to our Person. And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your Example of Civility, Candour, and Friendship to us; since there are not more conspicuous Examples of extraordinary Prudence and Vertue to be imitated than in your Eminency; from whence they may learn with equal Renown to govern Kingdoms, and manage the most important Affairs of the World. Which that your Eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole Realm of *France*, to the common Good of the whole Christian Republick, and your own Glory, we shall never be wanting in our Prayers to implore.

From our Court at Whitehal,
June — 1658.
Your Excellency's most Affectionate.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest
Confederate and Friend;

AS often as we behold the busy Counsels, and various Artifices of the common Enemies of Religion, so often do we revolve in our Minds how

neceſſary it would be, and how much for the Safety of the Chriſtian World, that the Proteſtant Princes, and moſt eſpecially your Majeſty, ſhould be united with our Republick in a moſt ſtrict and ſolemn Confederacy. Which how ardently and zealouſly it has been ſought by our ſelves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the Affairs of *Swedeland*, had been in that poſture and condition, if the ſaid League could have been ſacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a ſeaſonable Succour to the other, we declar'd to your Embaſſadors, when firſt they enter'd into Treaty with us upon this Subject. Nor were they wanting in their Duty; but the ſame prudence which they were wont to ſhew in other things, the ſame Wiſdom and Sedulity they made known in this Affair. But ſuch was the perfidiouſneſs of our wicked and reſtleſs Countrymen at home, who being often receiv'd into our Protection, ceas'd not however to machinate new Diſturbances, and to reſume their formerly often fruſtrated and diſſipated Conſpiracies with our Enemies the *Spaniards*, that being altogether taken up with the preſervation of our ſelves from ſurrounding Dangers, we could not bend our whole Care, and our entire Forces, as we wiſh'd we could have done, to defend the common Cauſe of Religion. Nevertheleſs what lay in our Power, we have already zealouſly perform'd; and whatever for the future may conduce to your Majeſty's Intereſts, we ſhall not only ſhew our ſelves willing, but induſtrious to carry on, in Union with your Majeſty, upon all occaſions. In the mean time we moſt gladly congratulate your Majeſty's Victories, moſt prudently and couragiouſly atchiev'd, and in our daily Prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your Majeſty a ſteady courſe of Conqueſt and Felicity, to the Glory of his Name.

From our Court at Whitehall,
June — 1658.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*
To the most Serene Prince, the King of Portugal.

Most Serene King, our Friend
and Confederate;

JOhn *Buffield* of *London* Merchant, has set forth in a Petition to us, That in the Year 1649, he deliver'd certain Goods to *Anthony*, *John* and *Manuel Ferdinando Castaneo*, Merchants in *Tamira*, to the end that after they had sold 'em, they might give him a just Account, according to the Custom of Merchants: After which, in his Voyage for *England*, he fell into the hands of Pirats; and being plunder'd by 'em, receiv'd no small Damage. Upon this News, *Antony* and *Manuel*, believing he had been kill'd, presently look'd upon the Goods as their own, and still detain 'em in their hands, refusing to come to any Account; covering this Fraud of theirs with a Sequestration of *English* Goods that soon after ensu'd. So that he was forc'd the last Year, in the middle of Winter, to return to *Portugal* and demand his Goods, but all in vain. For that the said *John* and *Anthony* could by no fair means be perswaded, either to deliver the said Goods, or to come to any Account; and which is more to be admir'd, justifi'd their private detention of the Goods, by the Publick Attainder. Finding therefore that being a Stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the Inhabitants of *Tamira* in their own Countrey, he betook himself for Justice to your Majesty; humbly demanded the Judgment of the *Conservator*, appointed to determine the Causes of the *English*; but was sent back to the Cognizance of that Court, from which he had appeal'd. Which though in it self not unjust, yet seeing it is evident that the Merchants of *Tamira* make an ill use of your Pub-

lick Edict to justify their own private Cozenage, we make it our earnest Request to your Majesty, that according to your wonted Clemency you would rather refer to the *Conservator*, being the proper Judg in these Cases, the Cause of this poor Man, afflicted by many Casualties, and reduc'd to utmost Poverty, to the end he may recover the Remainder of his Fortunes from the faithless Partnership of those People. Which when you rightly understand the Business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your Majesty to see done than to our selves.

From our Court at Westminster,
Aug. 1658.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, *Arch-Duke of* Austria, *Governour of the* Low Countries, *under* Philip *King of* Spain.

Most Serene Lord;

CHarles *Harbord* Knight, has set forth in his Petition to us, that having sent certain Goods and Houshold-stuff out of *Holland* to *Bruges* under your Jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by Force and Violence. For that those Goods were sent him out of *England* in the Year 1643, by the Earl of *Suffolk*, for whom he stood bound in a great Sum of Money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compell'd to pay the Debt. Which Goods are now in the possession of *Richard Greenville* Knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from *Theophilus* Earl of *Suffolk*, by virtue of a certain Decree of our Court of *Chancery*, to which those Goods, as being the Earl's, were

juſtly liable; whereas by our Laws, neither the Earl now living, whoſe Goods they are, is bound by that Decree, neither ought the Goods to be ſeiz'd or detain'd; which the Sentence of that Court, now ſent to your Serenity, together with theſe Letters, poſitively declares and proves. Which Letters the ſaid *Charles Harbord* has deſir'd of us, to the end we would make it our Requeſt to your Highneſs, that the ſaid Goods may be forthwith diſcharg'd from the violent Seizure, and no leſs unjuſt Action of the ſaid *Richard Greenville*, in regard it is apparently againſt the Cuſtom and Law of Nations, that any Perſon ſhould be allow'd the liberties to ſue in a Foreign Juriſdiction upon a Plaint wherein he can have no relief in the Country where the Cauſe of Action firſt aroſe. Therefore the Reaſon of Juſtice it ſelf, and your far celebrated Equanimity encourag'd us to recommend this Cauſe to your Highneſs; aſſuring your Highneſs, that whenever any Diſpute shall happen in our Courts concerning the Rights and Properties of your People, you ſhall ever find us ready and quick in our Returns of Favour.

Weſtminſter ——

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the *Commonwealth* of England.

Letters

Written in the Name of RICHARD The PROTECTOR.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

SO soon as our most Serene Father, Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, by the Will of God so ordaining, departed this Life upon the Third of *September*, we being lawfully declar'd his Successor in the Supream Magistracy, tho in the Extremity of Tears and Sadness, could do no less, than with the first Opportunity by these our Letters make known a Matter of this Concernment to your Majesty; by whom, as you have been a most cordial Friend to our Father and this Republick, we are confident the mournful and unexpected Tidings will be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to request your Majesty, that you would have such an Opinion of us, as of one who has determin'd nothing more religiously and constantly than to observe the Friendship and Confederacy contracted between your Majesty and our Renowned Father; and with the same Zeal and good Will to confirm and establish the Leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same Counsels and Interests with your Majesty. To which

ntent it is our pleasure that our Embassador residing
it your Court, be empower'd by the same Commis-
ion as formerly; and that you will give the same
Credit to what he transacts in our Name, as if it had
een done by our selves. In the mean time we wish
our Majesty all Prosperity.

From our Court at White-hall,
Sept. 5. 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

THo nothing could fall out more bitter and griev-
ous to us, than to write the mournful News
f our most Serene and most Renowned Father's
Death; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be igno-
ant of the high Esteem which he had for your
Eminency, and the great Value which you had for
im; nor have any reason to doubt, but that your
Eminency, upon whose Care the Prosperity of *France*
epends, will no less bewail the Loss of your con-
ant Friend, and most united Confederate, we
ought it of great moment, by these our Letters,
o make known this Accident so deeply to be la-
ented, as well to your Eminency as to the King;
nd to assure your Eminency, which is but Reason,
hat we shall most religiously observe all those things
hich our Father of most Serene Memory was bound
y the League to see confirm'd and ratify'd: and
hall make it our business, that in the midst of your
ourning for a Friend so faithful and flourishing in
l vertuous Applause, there may be nothing want-
ng to preserve the Faith of our Confederacy. For
he conservation of which on your part also, to the
ood of both Nations, may God Almighty long pre-
rve your Eminency.

Westminster, Sept. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

WHen we consider with our selves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be Imitators of our Father's Vertues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same Confederacies which he by his Prowess acquir'd, and out of his singular Judgment thought most worthy to be embrac'd and observ'd; your Majesty has no reason to doubt, but that it behoves us to pay the same Tribute of Affection and good Will, which our Father of most Serene Memory always paid to your Majesty. Therefore altho in this beginning of our Government and Dignity I may not find our Affairs in that Condition, as at present to answer to some Particulars which your Embassadors have propos'd, yet it is our Resolution to continue the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty, and to enter our selves into a stricter Engagement; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the State of Affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part, to treat of those things which shall be most chiefly for the united Benefit of both Republicks. In the mean time God long preserve your Majesty to his Glory, and the Defence and Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Westminster,
Octob. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WE have receiv'd two Letters from your Majesty, the one by your *Envoy*, the other transmitted to us from our Resident *Philip Meadows*, whereby we not only understood your Majesty's unfeigned Grief for the Death of our most Serene Father, in Expressions setting forth the real Thoughts of your Mind, and how highly your Majesty esteem'd his Prowess and Friendship, but also what great hopes your Majesty conceiv'd of our selves advanc'd in his room. And certainly, as an Accumulation of paternal Honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befal us than the Judgment of such a Prince; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the Government, than such a Congratulator; nothing lastly that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our Father's Vertues, as our lawful Inheritance, than the Encouragement of so great a King. As to what concerns your Majesty's Interests, already under Consideration between us, in reference to the common Cause of the Protestants, we would have your Majesty have those Thoughts of us, that since we came to the Helm of this Republick, tho the Condition of our Affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost Diligence, Care, and Vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more Sacred, and that there is not any thing more determin'd by Us, than as much as in us

lies, never to be wanting to the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a Fleet into the *Baltic* Sea, with those Instructions which our Agent, to that purpose empower'd by us, will communicate to your Majesty, whom God preserve in long Safety, and prosper with Success in the Defence of his Orthodox Religion.

From our Court at Westminster,
Octob. 13. 1658.

Richard, *Protector, To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Most Serene and most Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WE send to your Majesty, nor could we send a Present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir *George Ascue* Knight, not only fam'd in War, and more especially for his Experience in Sea Affairs, approv'd and try'd in many desperate Engagements, but also endu'd with singular Probity, Modesty, Ingenuity, Learning, and for the Sweetness of his Disposition caress'd by all Men; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the Banners of your Majesty, so renown'd o're all the World for your Military Prowess. And we would have your Majesty be fully assur'd, that whatsoever high Employment you confer upon him, wherein Fidelity, Fortitude, Experience, may shine forth in their true Lustre, you cannot entrust a Person more faithful, more couragious, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty, we request that he may have quick Access, and favourable Audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same

Credit to him as to our ſelves, if perſonally preſent: Laſtly, that you will give him that Honour as you ſhall judg becoming a Perſon dignify'd with his own Merits and our Recommendation. Now God Almighty proſper all your Affairs with happy Succeſs, to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Whitehall,
October, 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

SAmuel *Piggot* of *London* Merchant, in a Petition deliver'd to Us, ſets forth, that he lately ſent from *London* into *France*, upon the account of Trade, two Veſſels, the one call'd the *Poſt*, *Tiddie Jacob* Maſter, the other the *Water-Dog*, *Garbrand Peters* Maſter. That from *France*, being laden with Salt, they ſail'd for *Amſterdam;* at *Amſterdam* the one took in Ballaſt only; the other laden with Herrings, in Copartnerſhip with one *Peter Heinbergh*, ſail'd away for *Stettin* in *Pomerania*, which is under your Juriſdiction, there to unlade her Freight; but now he hears that both thoſe Veſſels are detain'd ſomewhere in the *Baltic* Sea by your Forces; notwithſtanding that he took care to ſend a Writing with both thoſe Ships, ſeal'd with the Seal of the Admiralty Court, by which it appear'd that he alone was the lawful Owner of both the Veſſels and Goods, that part excepted which belong'd to *Heinbergh*. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make our Requeſt to your Majeſty (to prevent the Ruin

and utter Shipwrack of the poor Man's Eſtate by the loſs of two Ships at one time) that you would command your Officers to take care for the ſpeedy diſcharge of the ſaid Veſſels. God long preſerve your Majeſty to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords the States of* Weſtfriezland.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

MAry *Grinder* Widow, in a Petition preſented to us, has made a moſt grievous Complaint, that whereas *Thomas Killegrew*, a Commander in your Service, has ow'd her for theſe eighteen Years a conſiderable Sum of Money, ſhe can by her Agents neither bring him to pay the ſaid Money, nor to try his Title at Law to the ſame, if he has any. Which that he may not be compell'd to do by the Widow's Attorney, he has petition'd your Highneſſes, that no body may be ſuffer'd to ſue him for any Money that he owes in *England*. But ſhould we ſignify no more than only this to your Highneſſes, that ſhe is a Widow, that ſhe is in great want, the Mother of many ſmall Children, which her Creditor endeavours to deprive of almoſt all that little Support they have in this World, we cannot believe we need make uſe of any greater Arguments to your Lordſhips, ſo well acquainted with thoſe Divine Precepts forbidding the Oppreſſion of the Widow and the Fatherleſs, to perſwade ye not to grant any ſuch Privilege upon a bare Petition, to the fraudulent Subverter of the Widow's Right: and which for the ſame reaſon we aſſure our ſelves you will never admit.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Jan. 27. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend;

WE have been given to understand, and that to our no small Grief, That several Protestant Churches in *Provence* were so maliciously affronted and disturb'd by a certain turbulent Humourist, that the Magistrates at *Grenoble*, who are the proper Judges of such Causes, thought him worthy of exemplary Punishment: But that the Convention of the Clergy which was held not far from those places obtain'd of your Majesty, that the whole matter should be remov'd up to *Paris*, there to be heard before your Royal Council. But they not having as yet made any Determination in the Business, those Churches, and more especially that of *Yvoire*, are forbid to meet for the Worship of God. Most earnestly therefore we request your Majesty, That in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in publick, whose Prayers to God for your Safety and the Prosperity of your Kingdom, you are so free to suffer; then that the Sentence given against that impertinent Disturber of Divine Service, by the proper Judges of those Causes at *Grenoble*, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your Majesty in Safety and Prosperity; to the end that if you have any good Opinion of our Prayers, or think 'em prevalent with God, you may be speedily induc'd to suffer the same to be publickly put up to Heaven by those Churches, now forbid their wonted Meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18. 1658.

To the moſt eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

Moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal;

THe moſt illuſtrious Lady, late Wife of the deceaſed Duke of *Richmond*, is now going into *France*, together with the young Duke her Son, with an intention to reſide there for ſome time. We therefore moſt earneſtly requeſt your Eminency, That if any thing fall out, wherein your Authority, Favour and Patronage may be aſſiſting to 'em, as Strangers, you would vouchſafe to protect their Dignity, and to indulge the Recommendation of it not the meaneſt, in ſuch a manner, that if any addition can be made to your Civility toward all People, eſpecially of illuſtrious Deſcent, we may be ſenſible our Letters have obtain'd it. Withal, your Excellency may aſſure your ſelf, your Recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, ſhall be of equal Force and Value in our Eſteem and Care.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 29. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince*, John *King of* Portugal.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our Friend and Confederate;

ALthough there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a King our Friend, and in ſtrict Confederacy with our Republick, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this preſent, by theſe our Letters to congratulate this laſt Victory, ſo glorious to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, obtain'd againſt

our common Enemy the *Spaniard*. By which, how great an Advantage will accrue not only to your own, but to the Peace and Repoſe of all *Europe*, and that perhaps for many Years, there is no body but underſtands. But there is one thing more, wherein we muſt acknowledg your Majeſty's Juſtice, the moſt certain pledg of Victory; That Satisfaction has been given by the Commiſſioners appointed at *London*, according to the 24th Article of the League, to our Merchants, whoſe Veſſels were hir'd by the *Braſile* Company. Only there is one among 'em ſtill remaining, *Alexander Bence* of *London* Merchant, whoſe Ship call'd the *Three Brothers*, *John Wilks* Maſter, being hir'd and laden, and having perform'd two Voyages for the ſaid Company, yet ſtill they refuſe to pay him his Wages according to their Covenants; when the reſt that only perform'd ſingle Voyages are already paid. Which why it ſhould be done, we cannot underſtand, unleſs thoſe People think, in their Judgment, that Perſon more worthy of his Hire, who did 'em only ſingle Service, than he who earn'd his Wages twice. We therefore earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that Satiſfaction may be given for his Service truly perform'd, to this ſame ſingle *Alexander*, to whom a double Stipend is due; and that by virtue of your Royal Authority you would prefix the *Braſile* Company as ſhort a day as may be, for the payment of his juſt due, and repairing his Loſſes; ſeeing that their Delays have been the occaſion that the Loſs ſuſtain'd by the Merchant has very near exceeded the Money it ſelf which is owing for his Wages. So God continue your Majeſty's proſperous Succeſſes againſt the common Enemy.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Feb. 23. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord;

BY Letters to your Eminency, about eight Months since, dated *June* 13. we recommended to your *Eminency* the Cause of *Peter Pet*, a Person of singular Probity, and in all Naval Sciences most useful both to us and our Republick. His Ship call'd the *Edward*, in the Year 1646. as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the *Thames* by one *Bascon*, and sold in the Port of *Boulogne*; and though the King in his Royal Council, the *4th* of *November*, 1647. decreed, That what Money the Council should think fitting to be given in recompence of the Loss, should be forthwith paid in Satisfaction to the Owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the Benefit of that Order. Now in regard we make no question but that your Eminency, at our Desire, gave strict Command for the speedy execution of that Decree; we make it therefore our renew'd Request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the Impediment lies, or through whose Neglect or Contumacy it came to pass, that in ten Years time the King's Decree was not obey'd; and employ your Authority so effectually, that the Money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfy'd, may be speedily demanded and paid to our Petitioner. Thus your Eminency will perform an Act most grateful to Justice, and lay moreover a singular Obligation upon our selves.

From our Court at Westminster,
Feb. 25, 1658.

The two following Letters, after the Depoſal of *Richard*, were written in the Name of the Parlament Reſtor'd.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Moſt Serene and Potent King, our dereſt Friend;

SInce it has pleas'd the moſt merciful and omnipotent God, at whoſe Diſpoſal only the Resolutions of all Kingdoms and Republicks are, to restore us to our priſtin Authority, and the ſupream Adminiſtration of the Engliſh Affairs, we thought it convenient in the firſt place to make it known to your Majeſty, and to ſignify moreover as well our extraordinary Affection to your Majeſty, ſo potent a Proteſtant Prince, as alſo our moſt fervent Zeal to promote the Peace between your Majeſty and the King of *Denmark*, another moſt powerful Proteſtant King, not to be reconcil'd without our Aſſiſtance and the good Offices of our Affection. Our Pleaſure therefore is, that our Extraordinary Envoy *Philip Meadows* be continued in the ſame Employment with your Majeſty, with which he has been hitherto entruſted from this Republick. To which end we empower him by theſe our Letters to make Propoſals, Act and negotiate with your Majeſty, in the ſame manner as was granted him by his laſt Recommendations: and whatſoever he ſhall tranſact and conclude in our Name, we faithfully promiſe and engage, by God's Aſſiſtance, to confirm and ratify. The ſame God long ſupport your Majeſty, the Pillar and Support of the Proteſtant Intereſts.

Weſtminſter, May 15. 1659.

William Lenthal, Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, *&c. To the most Serene Prince* Frederick, *King of* Denmark.

Most Serene King, and most dear Friend;

SEing it now is come to pass, that by the Will and Pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supream Moderator of all things, we are restor'd to our pristin Place and Dignity, in the Administration of the Publick Affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a Revolution of this Government should not be conceal'd from your Majesty's notice, a Prince both our Neighbour and Confederate; and withal, to signify how much we lay to heart your ill Success: which you will easily perceive by our Zeal and Diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a Reconciliation between your Majesty and the King of *Sweden*. And therefore we have commanded our Extraordinary Envoy with the most Serene King of *Sweden*, *Philip Meadowes*, to attend your Majesty, in our Name, in order to these Matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate such things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty: and what credit you shall give to him in this his Employment, we request your Majesty to believe it given to our selves. God Almighty grant your Majesty a happy and joyful Deliverance out of all your Difficulties and afflicting Troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your Fortitude and Magnanimity.

Westminster, May 15. 1659.

William Lenthal, Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

A Manifesto

Of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.

Publiſhed by Conſent and Advice of his Council.

Wherein is ſhewn the Reaſonableneſs of the Cauſe of this Republick againſt the Depredations of the Spaniards.

Written in Latin by JOHN MILTON, and firſt printed in 1655; Tranſlated into Engliſh in 1738.

THat the motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an attack upon certain iſlands in the *Weſt Indies*, which have been now for ſome time in the hands of the *Spaniards*, are exceeding juſt and reaſonable, every one will eaſily ſee, who conſiders in what a hoſtile manner that king and his ſubjects have all along, in thoſe parts of *America*, treated the *Engliſh* nation; which behaviour of theirs as it was very unjuſt at the beginning, ſo ever ſince with the ſame injuſtice they have perſevered in it, in a direct contrariety to the common law of nations, and to particular articles of alliance made betwixt the two kingdoms.

It must indeed be acknowledged, the *English* for some years past have either patiently borne with these injuries, or only defended themselves; which may possibly give occasion to some to look upon that late expedition of our fleet to the *West Indies*, as a war voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this war was first begun and raised by the *Spaniards* themselves, as in reality it will be found to be, and (though this republic have done all that lay in their power to establish peace and commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest eagerness.

That the *Spaniards* themselves are the occasion of this war, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find opportunity, without any just cause, and without being provoked to it by any injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold blood butchering, any of our countrymen in *America* they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their goods and fortunes, demolish their houses and plantations, take any of their ships they happen to meet with in those seas, and treat the sailors as enemies, nay, even as pirates. For they give that opprobrious name to all, except those of their own nation, who venture to sail in those seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous gift of the Pope on which they rely, and because they were the first discoverers of some parts of that western region: by virtue of which name and title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole power and government of that western world is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd title we shall have occasion to speak more fully, when we come to consider the causes assigned by the *Spaniards* for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of hostilities against our countrymen in *America*, to such

a degree, that whoever are driven upon thoſe coaſts by ſtreſs of weather or ſhipwreck, or any other accident, are not only clapt in chains by them as priſoners, but are even made ſlaves; while they, notwithſtanding all this, are ſo unreaſonable as to think, that the peace is broken, and very much violated by the *Engliſh;* and that even in *Europe*, if they attempt any thing againſt them in thoſe parts, with a view to make repriſals, and to demand reſtitution of their goods.

But though the King of *Spain's* ambaſſadors in our country, depending on a *Spaniſh* faction which had always a very conſiderable influence in the laſt king's council, as well as his father's, did not ſcruple to make a great many unreaſonable complaints and ridiculous demands upon the moſt trivial accounts, whenever the *Engliſh* did any thing of this kind; yet thoſe princes, though too much attached to the *Spaniards*, would by no means have the hands of their ſubjects bound up, when the *Spaniards* thought they ſhould have the free uſe of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their ſubjects to repel force by force, and to conſider ſuch of the *Spaniards*, as could not be brought at any rate to keep the peace in thoſe parts, as enemies. So that about the year 1640, when this affair was debated in the laſt king's council, and when the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador deſired that ſome ſhips bound for *America*, lying in the mouth of the river, and juſt ready to weigh anchor, ſhould be ſtopt, as being capable of doing miſchief to the *Spaniards* in that part of the world; and when at the ſame time he refuſed the *Engliſh*, who aſked it of him by ſome members of the council appointed for that purpoſe, the privilege of trading to the *Weſt Indies*, it was nevertheleſs reſolved upon, that theſe ſhips ſhould purſue their intended voyage, which accordingly they did.

Thus far the aforesaid princes were not wanting to their subjects, when they made war in those places privately for their own interest, though, by reason of the power of the above mentioned *Spanish* faction, they would not espouse their cause publicly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient glory of the *English* nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the world for us, who by the kind providence of *God* had in our possession so many ships equipped and furnished with every thing requisite to a war by sea, to have suffered these ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use, than to have been employed in avenging the blood of the *English*, as well as that of the poor *Indians*, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the hands of the *Spaniards:* since *God* has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. And surely *God* will one time or other take vengeance on the *Spaniards*, who have shed so much innocent blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor *Indians*, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost barbarity, done them so many injuries, and harassed and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, whatever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common relation that men have to one another, which is no other than that of brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary wrongs done to particular persons ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the human race; since their having so often robbed and murdered our own countrymen was cause sufficient

of itſelf, for our having undertaken that late expedition, and has given us abundant reaſon to avenge ourſelves on that people; to paſs by at preſent a great many other reaſons, and to take into conſideration our own ſafety for the future, and likewiſe that of our allies, eſpecially thoſe among them who are of the orthodox religion; and to omit ſeveral other cauſes, whereby we were prompted to this expedition, of which we have no need at preſent to give a particular enumeration, ſince our principal deſign at this time is to declare and ſhew to the world the juſtice and equity of the thing itſelf, and not to reckon up all the particular cauſes of it. And that we may do this with the greater perſpicuity, and explain generals by particulars, we muſt caſt our eyes back a little upon things that are paſt, and ſtrictly examine all the tranſactions betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, conſider what has been the ſtate of affairs on both ſides, ſo far as may reſpect the mutual relation of the two kingdoms, both ſince the firſt diſcovery of *America*, and ſince the Reformation: which two great events, as they happened much about the ſame time, ſo they produced every where vaſt changes and revolutions, eſpecially amongſt the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, who ſince that time have conducted and managed their affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary, way to what they did formerly. For though the laſt king and his father, againſt the will of almoſt all their ſubjects, patched up any way two leagues with the *Spaniards;* yet the different turns of the two nations, proceeding from the difference of their religious principles, and the perpetual diſſenſions that were in the *Weſt Indies*, together with the jealouſies and ſuſpicions which the *Spaniards* had all along of the *Engliſh* (being always mightily afraid of loſing their treaſures in *America*), have not only fruſtrated all the late attempts made by this Commonwealth to obtain

a peace upon reasonable and honourable terms, but were likewise the principal reasons why *Philip II.* in Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, broke that ancient league, that had subsisted so long, without any violation, betwixt this nation and his ancestors of the house of *Burgundy* and *Castile;* and having made war upon that queen, proposed to subdue this whole nation: which very thing in the year 1588 he attempted with all his might, while in the mean time he was treating about the establishment of a peace; which certainly cannot but be still deeply rooted in the minds of the *English*, and will not easily be extirpated. And though after that there was some kind of peace and commerce in *Europe* (and it was of such sort, that no *Englishman* durst profess his own religion within any part of the *Spanish* dominions, or have the Holy Bible in his house, or even aboard a ship), yet in the *West Indies* the *Spaniard* from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy peace, or to have the privilege of trading; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that league of the year 1542, concluded between *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, and the Emperor *Charles V.*, in which, peace and free commerce were expressly established between these two princes and their people, through every part of their respective dominions, through all their ports and territories, without any exception of the *West Indies*, which was then subject to that emperor.

But as to that article, of a peace to be maintained on the part of both nations through all the countries of the world; this is indeed plainly contained in all the treaties of peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any exception relating to commerce in any of these treaties, till that which was made in the year 1604, with which that in the year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last treaties it was

eſolved upon, that both nations ſhould have a pri-
ilege of trading in every part of one another's domi-
ions, in all thoſe places where, before the war
etween *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, and *Elizabeth*
Queen of *England*, there was any commerce, ac-
ording to what was uſual and cuſtomary in ancient
lliances and treaties made before that time. Theſe
re the very individual words of thoſe treaties, which
lo plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain,
nd ſo King *James* was ſatisfied to make peace with
Spain any how, ſince he only renewed the very ſame
reaty which had been concluded a little before the
leath of Queen *Elizabeth*, who charged her deputies
vhen it was in agitation, among other things, to
nſiſt warmly on having a privilege of trading to the
Weſt Indies.

But King *James*, who was mightily deſirous of
naking peace with the *Spaniards*, was content to
eave that clauſe ſo expreſſed, as both parties might
xplain it in their own way, and as they judged would
e moſt for their own advantage; though theſe words,
*According to what is uſual and cuſtomary in ancient
lliances and treaties*, are ſo to be underſtood as it is
eaſonable they ſhould, according to what in juſtice
ught to be done, and not according to what has
een done on the part of the *Spaniards*, to their mani-
eſt violation (which has afforded perpetual matter
f complaint to the *Engliſh*, and has been an occaſion
f continual quarrels betwixt the two nations) it is
noſt evident from the expreſs words of ancient trea-
ies, that the *Engliſh* had a privilege both of peace
nd commerce, through all the *Spaniſh* dominions.

Moreover, if the way of obſerving ancient treaties
nd agreements is to be taken from their manifeſt
iolation, the *Spaniards* have ſome pretence for ex-
laining that clauſe, in the laſt treaties, as debarring
he *Engliſh* from all manner of commerce in theſe

parts. And for all that, during one half the time that intervened betwixt the foresaid treaty in the year 1542, and the beginning of the war betwixt *Philip II.* and *Elizabeth*, so far as we can judge from the manner in which things were carried on, it would appear that trading in these places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the *Spaniards* would permit no commerce at all, they and the *English* came from the exchange of goods to that of blows and wounds; and this not only before the war broke out betwixt *Philip* and *Elizabeth*, but likewise after a peace was made in the year 1604 by King *James*, and another by his son in 1630, and yet so as not to stop the course of trade through *Europe*. However, the King of *Spain*, after this late interruption of our trade, has now judged that the contests in *America* may be extended to *Europe* itself.

But we neither insist on the interpretation of treaties, nor the right of commerce by virtue of these treaties, or on any other account, as if this contest of ours with *Spain* were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident reasons in the world, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that though it be not so necessary to found a war upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a peace, or at least to the renewing of an alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an answer to that question; Why, since we have renewed the ancient treaties we had formerly made with all other nations, we have not done the same with *Spain?* And may serve to convince the world, that in the articles of alliance we have not, as is objected, demanded his right eye, far less both eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody In-

quiſition, in thoſe places where we have been allowed to traffic, but have only inſiſted upon having ſuch a privilege of carrying on trade, as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient treaties, or the law of nature. For though the King of *Spain* has aſſumed to himſelf a power of preſcribing us the laws and bounds of commerce, by authority of a law made by the Pope, whereby he diſcharges all traffic with *Turks*, *Jews*, and other infidels:* and though under this pretence, even in time of peace, his ſhips of war, in other places beſides the *Weſt Indies*, have taken and plundered our ſhips; and though by the ſame authority of the Pope, and under pretence of a certain gift he has from him, he claims the *Indians* for his ſubjects, as if forſooth they alſo were ſubject unto him, who are neither under his authority nor protection: yet we maintain, that neither the Pope nor the King of *Spain* is inveſted with any ſuch power, as either to rob them of their liberty, or us of the privilege of converſing and trading with them, which we have by the law of nature and nations, but eſpecially with thoſe who, as we formerly obſerved, are not under the power and government of the King of *Spain*.

Another obſtacle to our renewing an alliance with *Spain* is ſufficiently manifeſt, and at the ſame time very remarkable; which is this, that any of our ambaſſadors and public miniſters who are ſent into that kingdom, either for the ſake of cultivating a good underſtanding, or about any other buſineſs, betwixt

* *William Stephens* of *Briſtol* and ſome other *London* merchants, in the years 1606 and 1607, trading with thoſe people who live on the coaſt of *Morocco* with three veſſels, ſome ſhips belonging to the King of *Spain* that were pirating along theſe coaſts, having come upon them in the bay of *Saffia* and the harbour of *Santa Cruz*, while they were lying at anchor, plundered them, without giving any other reaſon for their doing it than this, that the king their maſter would not allow of any commerce with infidels; and the loſs theſe merchants ſuſtained at that time was computed at more than 2000*l.*

the two Commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their lives, the king being tied down to such opinions, as hinder him from providing for their safety against murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent danger; whose privileges, in order to keep up and preserve friendship between princes and Commonwealths, have by the law of nations been always considered as inviolable, and as a thing much more sacred than those altars of refuge, whose privileges, built on the authority of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of laws and justice, which we demanded should be put in execution against the murderers of Mr. *Anthony Ascham*, who was sent by this Republic into *Spain*, to procure and establish friendship betwixt the two nations. For which barbarous murder there has never as yet been any satisfaction made, nor punishment inflicted on the authors of it, nor could this ever be obtained, though it was demanded by the Parliament;* and in their name several times urged with the greatest warmth by the

* This is evident from the Parliament's letter, signed by the hand of the Speaker, to the King of *Spain*, in the month of January, 1650, the words whereof are as follow. *We demand of your Majesty, and insist upon it, that public justice be at length satisfied for the barbarous murder of* Anthony Ascham *our resident at your court, and the rather, that after we have seen condign punishment inflicted on the authors of such a detestable crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our ambassador to your royal court, to lay before you such things as may be equally advantageous to your Majesty and our Commonwealth. On the contrary, if we should suffer that blood, the shedding whereof was a thing in many respects so remarkably horrible, to pass unrevenged, we must of necessity be partakers in that detestable crime in the sight of* God, *our only deliverer and the eternal fountain of our mercies, and in the eye of the whole* English *nation; especially if ever we should send any other of our countrymen into that kingdom, where murder is allowed to go quite unpunished. But we have so great an opinion of your Majesty, that we will not easily be brought to believe that your royal authority is subjected to any other power superior to it within your own dominions.*

ɔuncil of State. And this has been hitherto one ntinued obſtacle, and a very juſt one too, to the newing of an alliance betwixt the two nations; nay, we conſider how other nations have frequently ted in like caſes, it may be conſidered as a very ſt cauſe for a war.

But as to the diſputes that have ariſen in the *Weſt dies*, though we, both in the continent itſelf, and the iſlands, have plantations as well as they, and ıve as good, nay, a better right to poſſeſs them, an the *Spaniards* have to poſſeſs theirs, and though e have a right to trade in thoſe ſeas, equally good ith theirs; yet without any reaſon, or any damage ſtained, and that when there was not the leaſt diſ- ıte about commerce, they have been continually vading our Colonies in a hoſtile way, killing our en, taking our ſhips, robbing us of our goods, ying waſte our houſes and fields, impriſoning and ıſlaving our people: this they have been doing all ong till theſe preſent times, wherein they have of te engaged in an expedition againſt them.

For which reaſon, contrary to what uſed to be ɔne formerly in the like caſe, they have detained ır ſhips and merchants, and confiſcated their goods moſt every where through the *Spaniſh* dominions; ı that whether we turn our eyes to *America* or *urope*, they alone are undoubtedly to be conſidered ; the authors of the war, and the cauſe of all the ıconveniences and all the bloodſhed with which it ıay poſſibly be attended.

There are a great many inſtances of the moſt cruel ıd barbarous treatment, the *Engliſh* have perpetually ıet with from the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*; and ıat even in time of peace, both ſince the year 1604, hen the peace was patched up by King *James*, till ıe time that the war broke out again, and ſince that ıſt peace, which was concluded in the year 1630,

to this very day. We shall only mention a few of them.*

After a peace was concluded in the year 1605, a ship called the *Mary*, *Ambrose Birch* Commander, was trading on the north coast of *Hispaniola:* the master being allured with promises of a safe and free commerce, by one Father *John* and six of his accomplices, to go ashore to see some goods, twelve *Spaniards* in the mean time while going aboard to see the *English* goods, while the *English* suspecting no frauds were showing them their wares, the priest giving a signal from the shore, the *Spaniards* every man drew his dagger, and stabbed all the *English* that were in the ship, except two who leaped into the sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparalleled cruelty; the master himself stript of his cloths, and fastened to a tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the flies and vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable case for the space of twenty hours, a negro hearing his groans came to the place, and as he was just on the point of expiring, stabbed him with a spear. This ship with her goods was valued at 5400*l.*

Another ship called the *Archer* was taken at *St.*

* As a ship called the *Ulysses* was trading along the coast of *Guiana*, the merchants and sailors happened to go ashore, by the persuasions of *Berry*, governor of that place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to prison. Upon which the governor writes a letter to the merchant, acquainting him, that he had indeed taken thirty of his men, and that because some foreigners, who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20,000 ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his men, and allow him the liberty of commerce. The merchant sent him the sum he demanded, part in ready money, part in goods, which after the governor had received, he ordered all the thirty men to be fastened to trees and strangled, except the chirurgeon, who was reserved, to cure the governor of a certain disease. This ransom, together with other damages sustained there, was computed at 7000*l.*

Domingo, and all the ſailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1300*l.*

Another ſhip, called the *Friendſhip* of *London*, with her loading, was taken by *Lodowic Fajard*, Admiral of the *Spaniſh* fleet, all her goods confiſcated, and the merchants and mariners thrown into the ſea, except one boy who was reſerved for a ſlave. This ſhip with her loading was eſtimated at 1500*l.*

The ſailors going aſhore out of another ſhip, called the *Scorn*, (the *Spaniards* having ſolemnly ſworn they would do them no prejudice,) were all nevertheleſs bound to trees and ſtrangled. The ſhip with all her goods was ſeized, and the merchants, to whom ſhe belonged, loſt at this time 1500*l.*

In the year 1606, a ſhip, called the *Neptune*, was taken at *Tortuga* by the *Spaniſh* guarda coſtas, valued at 4300*l.**

The ſame year, another ſhip, called the *Lark*, was taken by *Lodowic Fajard*, and confiſcated with all her loading, valued at 4570*l.*

Another, called the *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, was taken by the *Spaniards* at *Florida*, by whom ſhe was confiſcated, and all her ſailors either killed or made ſlaves; for they were never heard of afterwards. This veſſel with her loading was valued at 15000*l.*†

In the year 1608, a *Plymouth* ſhip called the *Richard*, commanded by *Henry Challins*, fitted out at the expence of Lord *Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, *Ferdinand Gorges*, Knight, and others, to go to *Virginia*, happening to be driven by ſtreſs of

* *John Davis* loſt two ſhips with all their goods, and the *Spaniards* ſlew all the men that were aboard of them, to the entire loſs of that voyage, and this was computed at 3500*l.*

† Another ſhip belonging to ſome *London* merchants, *John Lock* commander, was taken by the *Spaniſh* fleet, at the iſle of *Tortuga*, becauſe ſhe had been trading there, and had felled ſome trees; for this ſhe was confiſcated, moſt of the ſailors put to death, and the reſt condemned to the galleys. This was eſteemed a loſs of 5300*l.*

weather upon the southern part of the *Canary* Islands, in her way from thence to the coast of *Virginia*, she chanced to fall in with eleven *Spanish* ships returning from *St. Domingo*, who seized her; and though the captain, to rescue himself out of their hands, produced a royal pass-port, yet the ship with all her goods was confiscated, the captain himself barbarously used by them and sent to the galleys. This was a damage of more than 2500*l.*

A ship, called the *Aid*, was served much the same way by *Lodowic Fajard*, having been taken under pretence of friendship; she too with her goods was confiscated, and all the sailors sent to the galleys, where some were cudgelled to death for refusing to ply the oars. Which vessel with her goods, by the *Spaniards'* own estimation, was worth 7000*l.*

The same year another ship, called the *Gallant Anne*, *William Curry* Commander, as she was trading at *Hispaniola*, was likewise confiscated with all her goods, and all the sailors hanged; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of paper sewed to his coat, which had these words written upon it, *Why came ye hither?* This ship with her burden was valued at 8000*l.* These instances do sufficiently show what kind of peace the *Spaniards* maintained with us during the reign of King *James*, who was always very much afraid of breaking the peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same acts of hostility and barbarous treatment ever since the last peace, which was made in the year 1630, to this very day. For this end we will first speak a little of those colonies, that were planted by some noblemen of this nation, in the isle of *Catelina*, which they call the isle of *Providence*, and the island of *Tortuga*, by them called the island of *Association*. These islands about the year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither men nor cattle in them, were seized by the *English*, who at that time were at war

with the *Spaniards*. The year following, when peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt the two nations, the *Spaniards* having made no exception about theſe iſlands, King *Charles*, in a charter under the great-ſeal of *England*, declared himſelf maſter of the iſle of *Providence* and ſome other iſlands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconſiſtent with this peace, and gave them in poſſeſſion to ſome noblemen and their heirs, and next year he extended this grant to the iſle of *Tortuga*.

And though the above-mentioned planters had got poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands by the king's grant, and though this grant was exceeding well founded, firſt on the law of nature, ſince neither the *Spaniards*, nor any other people whatever, were in poſſeſſion of theſe places when they ſeized them; and ſecondly, on the right of war, ſince they were taken poſſeſſion of in time of war, and were not excepted in the articles of peace, whence it follows from the ſecond article of the laſt treaty, that the title of the *Spaniards* to theſe iſlands (even ſuppoſing they had had one) was made null by their own conſent: and though likewiſe, neither the aforeſaid company of planters in general, nor any one of them in particular by any action of theirs, had given any juſt cauſe of offence, either to the King of *Spain* or to any of his ſubjects, till they had firſt in a violent manner attacked our ſhips and colonies, and had ſlain ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, and ſet fire to their houſes: yet the *Spaniards*, being firmly reſolved to break the peace in theſe places, about the 22nd of January 1632, without any the leaſt provocation, betwixt the iſle of *Tortuga* and the Cape of *Florida*, in a hoſtile manner fell upon a certain ſhip belonging to the Company, called the *Sea-Flower*, on her return from the iſle of *Providence*, in which engagement they ſlew ſome of the men aboard that ſhip, and wounded others.

After this, about the year 1634, the iſle of *Tor-*

tuga was attacked by four ſhips belonging to the *Spaniards*, without any injury done on the part of the *Engliſh*, in which attack upwards of ſixty were ſlain, many wounded and taken priſoners, their houſes burnt down and quite demoliſhed, their moſt valuable goods carried off by the *Spaniards*, and the *Engliſh* almoſt wholly driven out of that iſland; of whom ſome were hanged, others carried to the *Havanna*, and detained in the moſt abject ſlavery. One *Grymes*, who had been a gunner in *Tortuga*, was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by a death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain deſart iſland called *Santa Cruz*, were again ſet upon by the *Spaniards*, who even purſued them thither with three galleys in the month of March 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the reſt taken priſoners, and uſed with the utmoſt barbarity.

In the year 1635, July 24th, the *Spaniards*, with two great ſhips and one galley, made likewiſe an attack upon the iſle of *Providence*, and they fought for ſeveral hours, but at that time they were repulſed and forced to give over their enterpriſe. However, they attempted the ſame thing a ſecond time, about the year 1640, with twelve ſhips, ſome large, and ſome of a leſſer ſize, whereof the admiral's ſhip was called the *Armadillo* of *Carthagena*, one of the greater galleys of the royal plate-fleet, and having ſent a great number of ſoldiers aſhore, they were confident of making themſelves maſters of the whole iſland; but yet were repulſed with a great deal of damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheleſs, having equipped another fleet, they returned a little after, when the planters, at variance among themſelves, did not ſo much employ their thoughts about what method they ſhould take to defend themſelves, as about the terms upon which they might moſt advantageouſly ſurrender; which terms, upon their giving up the iſland,

they found no difficulty to obtain. But the iſland was by this means wreſted out of the hands both of the planters and the Commonwealth, of whom the former ſuſtained the loſs of more than 80,000*l.* and the latter, beſides the loſs of the iſland, hereby received a very open and public affront. After the *Spaniards* had thus made themſelves maſters of the iſle of *Providence*, a ſhip bringing ſome paſſengers hither, who wanted to tranſport themſelves to this place from *New-England*, the *Spaniards* by ſtratagem having found means to get her brought within gun-ſhot, (the people in the ſhip knowing nothing of their late conqueſt of that iſland,) ſhe was in great danger of being taken, and with very much difficulty reſcued herſelf; the maſter of the ſhip, a very honeſt and worthy man, was killed by a bullet-ſhot from the iſland.

Nor were the *Spaniards* content to confine the acts of hoſtility, which they have exerciſed upon the people of that colony, within the boundaries of *America*, but have alſo treated them in the ſame hoſtile manner in *Europe*. For in the year 1638, December 25th, a ſhip belonging to that ſame Company, called the *Providence*, *Thomas Newman* Commander, two leagues from *Dungeneſs* on the very coaſt of *England*, was aſſaulted and taken by *Sprengfeld*, captain of a privateer belonging to *Dunkirk*, to which place this ſhip was brought, and her cargo detained, which even by the computation of many perſons in that place, was reckoned to amount to the ſum of 30,000*l.* As for the ſailors, ſome were ſlain, ſome wounded, and the reſt, after having been treated with the greateſt inhumanity in their own ſhip, were hurried away to *Dunkirk*, where they met with much the ſame uſage, till they found ſome way to make their eſcape; and though the owners demanded ſatisfaction in the moſt earneſt manner, and the laſt king by his reſident Mr. *Balthaſar Gerber*, and both by letters

written with his own hand, and the hand of Secretary *Coke*, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the restitution of their goods, nor the least compensation for these losses.

But there are other examples of the *Spanish* cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from *Porto-rico* and attacking *Santa Cruz* about the year 1651, an island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an *English* colony governed by *Nicol. Philips*, who with about an hundred more of the colony was barbarously murdered by the hands of the *Spaniards*, who besides this attacked the ships in the harbour, plundered their houses and razed them from the very foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their fury (the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the woods), returning to *Porto-rico*, they gave the miserable remnant, who were well nigh famished, time to remove from *Santa Cruz*, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring islands. But a little time thereafter, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who sculked in the woods; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other islands.

In the same year 1631, a ship belonging to *John Turner* being driven into the harbour of *Cumanagola* by tempestuous winds, was seized by the governor of that place, and confiscated with all her lading.

The same was done to Captain *Cranley's* ship and her goods.*

And in the year 1650, a certain vessel pertaining to *Samuel Wilson*, loaden with horses, was taken on the high seas in her way to *Barbadoes*, and carried to

* And also to one belonging to *John Bland*, commanded by *Nicol. Philips*, in the very same harbour.

the *Havanna*. Both the ſhip and her goods were confiſcated, moſt of the ſailors impriſoned, and like ſlaves obliged to work at the fortifications.

The ſame hardſhips were endured by the ſailors aboard a certain ſhip of *Barnſtable* about two years ſince, which in her return from ſome of our plantations in the *Carribee* Iſlands, ſpringing a leak hard by *Hiſpaniola*, the ſailors to ſave themſelves, being obliged to get into the long boat, got aſhore, where they were all made ſlaves, and obliged to work at the fortifications.

By theſe, and many more examples of the ſame kind too long to be reckoned up, it is abundantly evident, the King of *Spain* and his ſubjects think they are no way bound by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part in theſe places, ſince they have habitually exerciſed all ſorts of hoſtilities againſt us, nay have even done ſuch things as are more inſufferable, and more grievous, than open acts of hoſtility; and ſince that cruelty, with which they uſually treat the *Engliſh* in *America*, is ſo contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not ſo much as ſeem ſuitable to the laws of the moſt bloody war: however, in that embargo of the King of *Spain*, by which he orders our merchant ſhips and their goods to be ſeized and confiſcated, the whole blame is laid upon the *Engliſh*, whom he brands with the odious names of treaty-breakers and violaters of the moſt ſacred peace, and likewiſe of free commerce, which he pretends to have ſo religiouſly maintained on his part, and gives out that we have violated the laws of peace and commerce with ſuch ſtrange and profeſſed hoſtility, that we attempted to beſiege the town of *St. Domingo* in the iſle of *Hiſpaniola*. Which is the only cauſe he offers, why the goods of the *Engliſh* are confiſcated in *Spain*, and the trading people confined; though this is likewiſe aggravated by his boaſted

humanity; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way received our fleets into his harbours,* where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his ministers did not at all require of us a strict observance of the articles of peace, that were agreed to by the two crowns, which forbid both parties to enter a harbour with more than six or eight ships of war.

But as he, by talking in this strain, acquits our fleets of all trespasses and violations of treaty in these harbours, since if any such thing as is objected has been done and passed over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his ministers; and as it is exceeding manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast profits he has received from our fleets, so on the other hand, that the king and his ministers have not at all in fact observed the agreements he speaks of, in the twenty-third article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms; *That if any differences should happen to arise betwixt the two Commonwealths, the subjects on both sides should be advertised, that they should have six months from the time of the advertisment to transport their effects, during which time there should be no arrest, interrupting, or damaging, of any man's person or goods.* In which affair, that king truly has shown but very little regard to those contracts, which he charges us with having broken, as appears from that late confiscation of our

* But *Swanley*, our admiral, was not so civilly treated in *Sicily*, in the harbour of *Drepano*, when in the year 1653, about the month of June, his ship called the *Henry Bonaventure*, together with a large and very rich *Dutch* ship called the *Peter*, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the *Spanish* governor in that place, taken by seven *Dutch* ships, under the command of the younger *Trump* in the very harbour, no further than a small gun's shot from the bulwarks, whereby the merchants, to whom that ship belonged, lost more than 63,000*l.*

goods. But what he declares in that edict concerning the acts of hostility committed in the *West Indies*, their being to be considered as a violation of peace and free commerce in these parts, is a new and quite different explanation from what has ever been propounded hitherto by either of the two Republics, though both parties have frequently had occasions to declare their judgment about this matter.

But seeing the King of *Spain* has declared both by word and deed, that the articles of peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many acts of hostility committed against the *English* in these parts, and which first began on his side, and have been continued from the very time of the last concluded treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that the sacred bonds of friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our adversaries themselves in this controversy are ashamed to deny the fact, and choose rather to dispute with us concerning the right of possession; which must be in the following manner; as the King of *Spain*, among his other titles, has assumed that of King of the *Indies*, so they affirm, that the whole *Indies* and *Indian* Sea, both south and north, belong to him, and that they are all enemies and pirates, who approach these places without his commission. Which if it were true, both we and all other nations ought to leave and restore to him all our possessions there, and having brought back whatever colonies we have sent thither, should beg his pardon for the injury we have done him; but if we consider a little more narrowly the truth and reasonableness of this title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast pile of war and contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to

have a double title, one founded upon the Pope's gift, and another upon their having firſt diſcovered thoſe places. As to the firſt, we know the Pope has been always very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries, but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in ſo doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whoſe vicar he profeſſes himſelf, who would not ſo much as allow himſelf to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances, far leſs give any one whole kingdoms at his pleaſure, like the Pope, who has thought fit to make a preſent of *England*, *Ireland*, and ſome other kingdoms.

But we deny his being inveſted with any ſuch authority, nor do we think there is any nation ſo void of underſtanding, as to think that ſo great power is lodged in him, or that the *Spaniards* would believe this or acquieſce in it, if he ſhould require them to yield up as much as he has beſtowed. But if the *French* and others, who acknowledge the Pope's authority in eccleſiaſtical matters, have no regard to this title of the *Spaniards*, it cannot be expected we ſhould think of it any otherwiſe. And ſo we leave this point, as not deſerving a fuller anſwer.

Nor is the other title of any greater weight, as if the *Spaniards* in conſequence of their having firſt diſcovered ſome few parts of *America*, and given names to ſome iſlands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reaſon lawfully acquired the government and dominion of that new world. But ſuch an imaginary title founded on ſuch a ſilly pretence, without being in poſſeſſion, cannot poſſibly create any true and lawful right. The beſt right of poſſeſſion in *America* is that, which is founded on one's having planted colonies there, and ſettled in ſuch places as had either no inhabitants, or by the conſent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at leaſt, in ſome of the wild and uncultivated places of their country, which they

were not numerous enough to repleniſh and improve; ſince God has created this earth for the uſe of men, and ordered them to repleniſh it throughout.

If this be true, as the *Spaniards* will be found to hold their poſſeſſions there very unjuſtly, having purchaſed all of them againſt the will of the inhabitants, and as it were plucked them out of their very bowels, having laid the foundations of their empire in that place, in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered ſeveral large iſlands and countries, that were in a tolerable caſe when they found them, ſo many barren deſarts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; ſo the *Engliſh* hold their poſſeſſions there by the beſt right imaginable, eſpecially thoſe iſlands where the *Spaniards* have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demoliſhed them; which iſlands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all ſlain by the *Spaniards*, who had likewiſe deſerted theſe places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: ſo that by the law of nature and nations they belong to any who think fit to take poſſeſſion of them, according to that common and well-known maxim in law, *Such things as belong to none, and ſuch as are abandoned by their former poſſeſſors, become his property who firſt ſeizes them.* Although, granting we had beat the *Spaniards* out of thoſe places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had at firſt expelled the inhabitants, we ſhould have poſſeſſed them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries ſuſtained by them, than the *Spaniards* their oppreſſors and murderers. But ſince we have ſettled our colonies in ſuch places as were neither poſſeſſed by the natives nor the *Spaniards*, they having left behind them neither houſes nor cattle, nor any thing that could by any means keep up the right of poſſeſſion, the juſtneſs of our title to theſe places was ſo much the

more evident, and the injuries done us by the *Spaniards* so much the more manifest, especially our right to those places that were seized while the two nations were at war with each other, such as the isles of *Providence* and *Tortuga*, which if the *Spaniards* could have shown to be theirs, by any former title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last treaty of peace, by the second article of this treaty, they have for the future cut themselves off from all such pretence, and if they had any right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this argument.

There is no intelligent person but will easily see how empty and weak those reasons are, that the *Spaniard* has for claiming to himself alone an empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But we have said this much, in order to show the weakness of those pretences, whereby the *Spaniards* endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much cruelty and barbarity in the *West Indies*, for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured, and put to death our countrymen, robbed them of their ships and goods, and demolished our colonies, even in the time of profound peace, and that without any injury received on their part; which cruel usage and havoc, made among our people, and such as were of the same orthodox faith with them, as oft as the *English* call to remembrance, they cannot miss to think that their former glory is quite gone, and their ships of war become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner: and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free commerce in so great and opulent a part of the world, but likewise to be looked upon as pirates and robbers, and punished in the same manner as they, if they presume to sail in those seas, or so much as look that way; or, in fine, have any intercourse or dealing even with our own colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody *Spanish* Inquisition we shall say nothing, this being a controversy common to all Protestants, nor shall we speak of the many seminaries of *English* priests and *Jesuits* nestling under the protection of the *Spaniards*, which is a perpetual cause of stumbling, and very great danger to the Commonwealth; since what we principally propose is, to shew the grounds and reasons of the controversies in the *West Indies*, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour, and justice, have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the *Spaniards*, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour, and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such unsufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shown to have been done them in the *West Indies*.

And truly they see but a very little way, who form their notion of the designs and intentions of the *Spaniards*, according to that friendly aspect, with which the present declension of their affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these parts of the world, (that face which they have put on being only a false one,) for it is certain they have the same mind, and the very same desires, which they had in the year 1588, when they endeavoured to subdue this whole island; nay, it is certain their hatred is more inflamed, and their jealousies and suspicions more increased by this change of the state of our affairs, and of the form of our Republic. But if we omit this opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an occasion to fall upon some way, whereby through the assistance of God we may provide for our safety, against this old and implacable enemy of our religion and country; it may

happen, he will recover such a degree of strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will and cannot but have the greatest indignation against us. Meanwhile, if we suffer such grievous injuries to be done our countrymen in the *West Indies*, without any satisfaction or revenge; if we suffer ourselves to be wholly excluded from that so considerable a part of the world; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate enemy (especially now, after he has made peace with the *Dutch*) to carry off without molestation, from the *West Indies*, those prodigious treasures, whereby he may repair his present damages, and again bring his affairs to such a prosperous and happy condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the year 1588; namely, whether it would be more adviseable to begin with subduing *England*, in order to recover the *United Provinces*, or with them, in order to reduce *England* under his subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more, causes why he should begin with *England*. And if God should at any time permit those intentions of his to have their desired effect, we have good ground to expect, that the residue of that cruel havoc, he made among our brethren at the foot of the Alps, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all *Protestants*; which, if we may give credit to the complaints that were made by those poor orthodox Christians, was first designed and contrived in the court of *Spain*, by those friers whom they call missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true *Englishmen*, will rather lay aside their private animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper advantages, than through an excessive desire of that small profit to be made by trading to *Spain* (which

innot be obtained but upon ſuch conditions as are iſhonourable and in ſome ſort unlawful, and which ıay likewiſe be got ſome other way;) expoſe, as they ow do, to the utmoſt danger, the ſouls of many ɔung traders, by thoſe terms upon which they now ve and trade there, and ſuffer the lives and fortunes f many Chriſtian brethren in *America*, and in fine, he honour of this whole nation, to be expoſed, and, hat of all is the moſt momentous and important, let ip out of their hands the moſt noble opportunities f promoting the glory of God, and enlarging the ounds of Chriſt's kingdom: which, we do not doubt, vill appear to be the chief end of our late expedition nto the *Weſt Indies* againſt the *Spaniards*, to all who re free of thoſe prejudices which hinder people rom clearly diſcerning the truth.

A Declaration,

Or, Letters Patents for the Election Of this present King of *Poland* JOHN *the Third*,

Elected on the 22*d* of *May* last past, *Anno Dom.* 1674.

CONTAINING

The Reasons of this Election, the great Virtues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the TURKS and TARTARS, wherof many Particulars are here related, not published before.

Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.

In the Name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

WE ANDREW TREZEBICKI, Bishop of *Cracovia*, Duke of *Severia*, JOHN GEMBICKI of *Uladislau* and *Pomerania*, &c. Bishops to the number of Ten.

STANISLAUS WARSZYCKI, Castellan of *Cracovia;* ALEXANDER MICHAEL LUBOMIRSKI of *Cracovia*, &c. Palatins to the number of 23.

CHRISTOPHERUS GRZYMALTOUSKI of *Posnania*, ALEXANDER GRATUS de *Tarnow* of *Sandimer:* Castellans to the number of 24.

HILAREUS POLUBINSKI, High Marshal of the great Dukedom of *Lituania*, CHRISTOPHERUS PAC, High-Chancelor of the great Dukedom of *Lituania*. Senators and great Officers, to the number of 75.

WE Declare by these our present Letters unto all and single Persons whom it may concern: Our Commonwealth being again left widowed by the unseasonable Death of that famous MICHAEL late King of *Poland*, who having scarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of *November*, of the year last past, at *Leopolis*, changed his fading Crown for one Immortal; in the sense of so mournful a Funeral and fresh Calamity, yet with an undaunted Courage, mindful of her self in the midst of Dangers, forbore not to seek Remedies, that the World may understand she grows in the midst of her losses; it pleased her to begin her Counsels of preserving her Country, and delivering it from the utmost chances of an Interreign, from the Divine Deity (as it were by the only motion of whose Finger, it is easie that Kingdoms be transferred from Nation to Nation, and Kings from the lowest state to Thrones; and therfore the business was begun according to our Country-Laws, and Ancestors Institutions. After the Convocation of all the States of the Kingdom ended, in the month of *February* at *Warsaw*, by the common consent of all those States, on the day decreed for the Election the 20*th* of *April:* At the report of this famous Act, as though a Trumpet had been sounded, and a Trophy of Vertue erected, the wishes and desires of Forein Princes came forth of their own accord into the Field of the *Polonian* Liberty, in a famous strife of Merits and good-will towards the Commonwealth, every one

bringing thir Ornaments, Advantages and Gifts to the Commonwealth: but the Commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition uſed in the laſt Interreign and Factions, and diſagreeings of minds, nor careleſs of the future, conſidered with her ſelf whether firm or doubtful things were promiſed, and whether ſhe ſhould ſeem from the preſent ſtate to transfer both the old and new Honours of *Poland* into the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers, or the military Glory, and thir late unheard of Victory over the *Turks*, and Blood ſpilt in the war, upon the purple of ſome unwarlike Prince; as if any one could ſo ſoon put on the love of the Country, and that *Poland* was not ſo much an enemy to her own Nation and Fame, as to favour ſtrangers more than her own; and Valour being found in her, ſhould ſuffer a Gueſt of new Power to wax proud in her: therfore ſhe thenceforth turned her thoughts upon ſom one in her own Nation, and at length aboliſhed (as ſhe began in the former Election) that reproach caſt upon her, under pretence of a ſecret Maxim, *That none can be elected King of* Poland, *but ſuch as are born out of* Poland; neither did ſhe ſeek long among her Citizens whom ſhe ſhould prefer above the reſt (for this was no uncertain or ſuſpended Election, there was no place for delay); for although in the equality of our Nobles many might be elected, yet the vertue of a Hero appeared above his equals: therfore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine inſtinct turned upon the High Marſhal of the Kingdom, Captain of the Army, *John Sobietſki*. The admirable vertue of the Man, the High Power of Marſhal in the Court, with his ſupreme command in Arms, Senatorial Honour, with his civil Modeſty, the extraordinary Splendor of his Birth and Fortune, with open Courteſie, Piety towards God, Love to his Fellow-Citizens in words and deeds, Conſtancy,

Faithfulneſs, and Clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things ſoever can be ſaid of a Hero, did lay ſuch Golden Chains on the Minds and Tongues of all, that the Senate and People of *Poland* and of the great Dukedom of *Lituania*, with Suffrages and agreeing Voices named and choſe him thir KING; not with his ſeeking or precipitate counſel, but with mature Deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the moſt ſerene Elect, the Confirmation of a free Election, and the eternal praiſe of the People electing, that the great buſineſs of an Age was not tranſacted in one day, or in the ſhadow of the night, or by one caſual heat: for it was not right that a Hero of the Age ſhould in a moment of time (and as it were by the caſt of a Die) be made a King, whenas Antiquity by an antient Proverb has delivered, that *Hercules* was not begot in one night; and it hath taught that Election ſhould ſhine openly under a cleer Sky in the open Light.

The moſt ſerene Elect took it modeſtly that his Nomination ſhould be deferred till the third day, plainly ſhewing to endeavour, leſt his ſudden facility of aſſent being ſuſpected, might detract from thir Judgment, and the World might be enforced to believe by a more certain Argument, that he that was ſo choſen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted Liberty; or was it by the appointed Counſel of God that this debate continued three whole days, from *Saturday* till *Munday*, as if the *Cotimian* Victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accompliſhed, after the taking of the *Cotimian* Caſtle) had been a lucky preſage of his Royal Reward; or, as if with an auſpicious *Omen*, the third day of Election had alluded to the Regal name of JOHN the Third.

The famous Glory of War paved his way to the Crown, and confirmed the favour of Suffrages to his moſt ſerene Elect. He the firſt of all the *Polonians* ſhewed that the *Scythian* ſwiftneſs (troubleſom heretofore to all the Monarchies of the World) might be repreſſed by a ſtanding Fight, and the terrible main Battalion of the *Turk* might be broken and routed at one ſtroke. That we may paſs by in ſilence the antient Rudiments of Warfare which he ſtoutly and glorioufly managed under the Conduct and Authority of another, againſt the *Swedes*, *Moſcovites*, *Boruſſians*, *Tranſylvanians*, and *Coſſacks:* though about ſixty Cities taken by him from the *Coſſacks* be leſs noiſed in the mouth of Fame; yet theſe often and proſperous Battels were a *Prelude* to greateſt Victories in the memory of man. Miriads of *Tartars* had overrun within this ſix years with thir plundering Troops the Coaſt of *Padolia*, when a ſmall force and ſom ſhattered Legions were not ſufficient againſt the hoſtile aſſault, yet our General knowing not to yield, ſhut himſelf up (by a new ſtratagem of War) in *Podhajecy*, a ſtrait Caſtle, and fortified in haſte, wherby he might exclude the cruel deſtruction which was haſtening into the bowels of the Kingdom, by which means the Barbarian deluded and routed, took Conditions of Peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpoſe, that he might bring to the moſt ſerene Elect matter of Glory, Victory.

For theſe four laſt years the famous Victories of *Sobietſki* have ſignalized every year of his warlike Command on the *Coſſacks* and *Tartarians* both joined together, the moſt ſtrong Province of *Braclavia*, as far as it lies between *Hypanis* and *Tyral*, with thir Cities and warlike people, were won from the *Coſſack* Enemy.

And thoſe things are beyond belief which two years ago the moſt ſerene Elect, after the taking of

Camenick (being undaunted by the Siege of *Laopolis*) performed to a miracle by the hardneſs and fortitude of the *Polonian* Army, ſcarce conſiſting of three thouſand men, in the continual courſe of five days and nights, ſuſtaining life without any food, except wild herbs; ſetting upon the *Tartarians*, he made famous the names of *Narulum*, *Niemicrovia*, *Konarnum*, *Kaluſſia*, obſcure Towns before, by a great Overthrow of the Barbarians. He ſlew three Sultans of the *Crim Tartars*, deſcended of the royal *Gietian* Family, and ſo trampled on that great force of the *Scythians*, that in theſe latter years they could not regain thir Courage, or recollect the Forces. But the felicity of this laſt Autumn exceeded all his Victories; whenas the Fortifications at *Chocimum*, famous of old, were poſſeſſed and fortified by above forty thouſand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the *Polonians* had ſuſtained and repreſſed the Forces of the *Ottoman* Family, drawn together out of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious Valour and Prudence of *Sobietſki*; for he counted it his chief part to go about the Watches, order the Stations, and perſonally to inſpect the preparations of warlike Ordinance, to encourage the Soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badneſs of weather, and three days ſtanding in Arms; and he (which is moſt to be admired) on Foot at the head of the Foot-forces made through, and forced his way to the Battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his Country; and therupon made a cruel ſlaughter within the Camp and Fortifications of the Enemy; while the deſperation of the *Turks* whetted thir valour, and he performed the part of a moſt provident and valiant Captain: at which time three *Baſhaws* were ſlain, the fourth ſcarce paſſed with difficulty the ſwift River of *Tyras*; eight thouſand

Janizaries, twenty thouſand choſen *Spahies*, beſides the more common Souldiers were cut off; the whole Camp with all thir Ammunition, and great Ordnance, beſides the *Aſſyrian* and *Phrygian* Wealth of luxurious *Aſia*, were taken and pillaged; the famous Caſtle of *Cotimia*, and the Bridg over *Tyras*, ſtrong Fortreſſes, equal to Caſtles on each ſide the River, were additions to the Victory. Why therfore ſhould not ſuch renown'd Heroic Valour be crowned with the legal reward of a Diadem? All *Chriſtendom* have gon before us in example, which being arrived to the recovery of *Jeruſalem* under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bulloin*, on thir own accord gave him that Kingdom, for that he firſt ſcaled the walls of that City. Our moſt ſerene Elect is not inferior, for he firſt alſo aſcended two main Fortreſſes of the Enemy.

The moment of time adorns this Victory unheard of in many ages, the moſt ſerene King *Michael* dying the day before, as it were ſignifying therby that he gave way to ſo great Valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this Conqueror might ſo much the more glorioufly ſucceed from the Helmet to the Crown, from the Commander's Staff to the Scepter, from his lying in the Field to the Regal Throne.

The Commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned Father, the moſt Illuſtrious and excellent *James Sobietſki*, Caſtellan of *Cracovia*, a Man to be written of with ſedulous care, who by his Golden Eloquence in the publick Councels, and by his hand in the Scene of War, had ſo often amplified the State of the Commonwealth, and defended it with the Arms of his Family. Neither can we believe it happened without Divine Providence, that in the ſame place wherin forty years ago his renowned Father, Em-

baſſador of the *Polonian* Commonwealth, had made Peace and Covnants with *Cimanus* the Turkiſh General, his great Son ſhould revenge with his Sword the Peace broke (Heaven it ſelf upbraiding the perfidious Enemy). The reſt of his Grandſires and Great-Grandſires, and innumerable Names of famous Senators and great Officers have as it were brought forth light to the ſerene Elect by the emulous Greatneſs and Glory of his Mother's deſcent, eſpecially *Staniſlaus Zelkievius*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, and General of the Army, at whoſe Grave in the Neighbouring fields, in which by the *Turkiſh* rage in the year 1620 he died, his victorious Nephew took full revenge by ſo remarkable an overthrow of the Enemy: The immortal valour and fatal fall of his moſt noble Uncle *Staniſlaus Daniloviticus* in the year 1635, Palatin of *Ruſſia*, doubled the Glory of his Anceſtors; whom deſirous of Honour, and not induring that ſluggiſh Peace wherin *Poland* then ſlept ſecure, Valour and youthful Heat accited at his own expence and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the antient warlike Polonian Diſciplin, he might lead and point the way to theſe merits of *Sobietſki*, and being slain by *Cantimiz* the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his Son by him ſlain, he might by his Noble Blood give luſtre to this Regal Purple. Neither hath the people of *Poland* forgot the moſt illuſtrious *Marcus Sobietſki* elder Brother of our moſt ſerene Elect, who when the Polonian Army at *Batto* was routed by the Barbarians, although occaſion was offer'd him of eſcape, yet choſe rather to die in the overthrow of ſuch valiant men, a Sacrifice for his Country, then to buy his life with a diſhonourable retreat; perhaps the divine Judgment ſo diſpoſing, whoſe order is, that perſons paſs away and fail, and cauſes and events happen again the ſame; that by

the repeated fate of the *Huniades*, the elder Brother of great hopes removed by a lamented ſlaughter, might leave to his younger Brother ſurviving the readier paſſage to the Throne. That therfore which we pray may be happy, auſpicious, and fortunate to our Orthodox Commonwealth, and to all Chriſtendom, with free and unanimous Votes, none oppoſing, all conſenting and applauding, by the right of our free Election, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private reſpect, but having only before our eyes the Glory of God, the increaſe of the antient Catholick Church, the ſafety of the Commonwealth, and the dignity of the *Poliſh* Nation and Name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, *JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietſki*, Supreme Marſhal General of the Kingdom, General of the Armies, Governour of *Neva*, *Bara*, *Strya*, *Loporovient*, and *Kaluſſien*, moſt eminently adorned with ſo high endowments, merits and ſplendor, to be *KING* of *Poland*, Grand-Duke of *Lituania*, *Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, *Mazovia*, *Samogitia*, *Kyovia*, *Volhinnia*, *Padlachia*, *Podolia*, *Livonia*, *Smolenſko*, *Severia*, and *Czerniechovia*, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Cracovia*, (the Archiepiſcopal See being vacant) exerciſing the Office and Authority of Primat, and by conſent of all the States thrice demanded, oppoſed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the Election; promiſing faithfully that we will always perform to the ſame moſt ſerene and potent Elect Prince, Lord *John the third*, our King, the ſame Faith, Subjection, Obedience, and Loyalty, according to our Rights and Liberties, as we have performed to his bleſſed Anceſtor, as alſo that we will crown the ſame moſt ſerene Elect in the next Aſſembly at *Cracovia*, to that end ordained, as our true King and Lord, with

the Regal Diadem, with which the Kings of *Poland* were wont to be crown'd, and after the manner which the *Roman* Catholic Church before-time hath obſerved in anointing and inaugurating Kings, We will anoint and inaugurate him: Yet ſo as he ſhall hold faſt and obſerve firſt of all the Rights, Immunities both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, granted and given to us by his Anceſtor of bleſſed memory; as alſo theſe Laws which we our ſelves in the time of this preſent and former Inter-reign, according to the Right of our Liberty, and better preſervation of the Commonwealth, have eſtabliſhed. And if moreover the moſt Serene Elect will bind himſelf by an Oath to perform the conditions concluded with thoſe perſons ſent by his Majeſty before the exhibition of this preſent Decree of Election, and will provide in beſt manner for the performance of them by his authentick Letters; which Decree of Election we by Divine aid deſirous to put in execution, do ſend by common conſent, to deliver it into the hands of the moſt Serene Elect, the moſt illuſtrious and reverend Lord Biſhop of *Cracovia*, together with ſome Senators and chief Officers, and the illuſtrious and magnificent *Benedictus Sapieha*, Treaſurer of the Court of the Great Dukedom of *Lituania*, Marſhal of the *Equeſtrian* Order; committing to them the ſame Decree of intimating an Oath, upon the aforeſaid premiſes, and receiving his Subſcription; and at length to give and deliver the ſame Decree into the hands of the ſaid Elect, and to act and perform all other things which this Affair requires. In aſſurance wherof the Seals of the Lords Senators, and thoſe of the *Equeſtrian* Order deputed to ſign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the moſt illuſtrious and reverend Father in Chriſt, the Lord *Andrew Olſzonſki*, Biſhop of *Culma* and *Pomiſania*, High Chancel-

lor of the Kingdom, in the general ordinary Assembly of the Kingdom, and great Dukedom of *Lituania*, for the Election of the new King. *Warsaw* the 22*d* day of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1674.

In the presence of *Franciscus Praszmouski*, Provost of *Guesna*, Abbot of *Sieciethovia*, chief Secretary of the Kingdom; *Joannes Malachowski*, Abbot of *Mogila*, Referendary of the Kingdom, *&c.* with other great Officers of the Kingdom and Clergy, to the number of fourscore and two. And the rest very many great Officers, Captains, Secretaries, Courtiers, and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and Great Dukedom of *Lituania*, gathered together at *Warsaw* to the present Assembly of the Election of the Kingdom and great Dukedom of *Lituania*.

Assistants at the solemn Oath taken of his sacred Majesty on the 5*th* day of the Month of *June*, in the Palace at *Warsaw*, after the Letters Patents delivered upon the Covenants, and Agreements, or Capitulations, the most Reverend and Excellent Lord *Francisco Bonvisi*, Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, Apostolick Nuntio; Count *Christopherus a Scaffgotsch*, *Cæcarous Tussanus de Forbin*, *de Jason*, Bishop of *Marseilles* in *France*, *Joannes* free-barron *Hoverbec*, from the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, Embassadors, and other Envoys and Ministers of State.

A Brief Hiſtory of Moſcovia,

and of other leſs known Countries lying Eaſtward of *Ruſſia* as far as *Cathay*. Gather'd from the Writings of ſeveral Eye-witneſſes.

The Preface.

THe ſtudy of Geography is both profitable and delightful; but the Writers therof, though ſom of them exact enough in ſetting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet in thoſe other relations of Manners, Religion, Government, and ſuch like, accounted Geographical, have for the moſt part miſs'd thir proportions. Som too brief and deficient ſatisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the Reader, while they tell long Stories of abſurd Superſtitions, Ceremonies, quaint Habits, and other petty Circumſtances little to the purpoſe. Wherby that which is uſeful, and only worth obſervation, in ſuch a wood of words, is either overſlipt, or ſoon forgotten; which perhaps brought into the mind of ſome men more learned and judicious, who had not the leiſure or purpoſe to write an entire Geography, yet at leaſt to aſſay ſomthing in the deſcription of one or two Countries, which might be as a Pattern or

Example to render others more cautious herafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induc'd *Paulus Jovius* to deſcribe only *Moſcovy* and *Britain*. Some ſuch thoughts, many years ſince, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with *Moſcovy*, as being the moſt northern Region of *Europe* reputed civil; and the more northern parts therof, firſt diſcovered by *Engliſh* Voyages. Wherin I ſaw I had by much the advantage of *Jovius*. What was ſcatter'd in many Volumes, and obſerv'd at ſeveral times by Eye-witneſſes, with no curſory pains I laid together, to ſave the Reader a far longer travail of wandring through ſo many deſert Authors; who yet with ſome delight drew me after them, from the eaſtern Bounds of *Ruſſia*, to the Walls of *Cathay*, in ſeveral late Journeys made thither overland by *Ruſſians*, who deſcribe the Countries in thir way far otherwiſe then our common Geographers. From proceeding further, other occaſions diverted me. This Eſſay, ſuch as it is, was thought by ſome, who knew of it, not amiſs to be publiſhed; that ſo many things remarkable, diſpers'd before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwiſe loſt, nor the labour loſt of collecting them.

Moſcovia: or, Relations of Moſcovia,

as far as hath been diſcovered by *Engliſh* Voyages; gather'd from the Writings of ſeveral Eye-witneſſes:

And of other leſs known Countries lying Eaſtward of *Ruſſia* as far as *Cathay*, lately diſcovered at ſeveral times by *Ruſſians*.

CHAP. I.

A brief Deſcription.

THe Empire of *Moſcovia*, or as others call it, *Ruſſia*, is bounded on the North with *Lapland* and the Ocean; Southward by the *Crim Tartar*; on the Weſt by *Lituania*, *Livonia*, and *Poland*; on the Eaſt by the River *Ob*, or *Oby*, and the *Nagayan Tartars* on the *Tolga* as far as *Aſtracan*.

The north parts of this Country are ſo barren, that the Inhabitants fetch thir Corn a thouſand miles,[1] and ſo cold in Winter that the very Sap of thir Wood-fewel burning on the fire, freezes at the Brands-end where it drops. The Mariners which were left a ſhip-board in the firſt Engliſh Voyage thither, in going up only from thir Cabins to the Hatches,[2] had

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[1] *Hack.* 251. [2] Ibid. vol. 1. 248.

thir breath ſo congeal'd by the cold, that they fell down as it were ſtifl'd. The Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, where they firſt put in,[3] lyeth in 64 degrees; call'd ſo from the Abby there built of Wood, wherin are 20 Monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great Drunkards: thir Church is fair, full of Images and Tapers. There are beſides but 6 Houſes, wherof one built by the Engliſh. In the Bay over againſt the Abby is *Roſe Iſland*,[4] full of damaſk and red Roſes, Violets, and wild Roſemary; the Iſle is in circuit 7 or 8 miles; about the midſt of *May* the Snow there is cleard, having two months been melting; then the ground in 14 days is dry, and Graſs knee-deep within a month; after *September* Froſt returns, and Snow a yard high: it hath a Houſe built by the Engliſh near to a freſh fair Spring. North-eaſt of the Abby on the other ſide of *Duina*, is the Caſtle of *Archangel*, where the Engliſh have another Houſe. The River *Duina* beginning about 700 miles within the Country, having firſt receiv'd *Pinega*, falls here into the Sea, very large and ſwift, but ſhallow. It runneth pleaſantly between Hills on either ſide; beſet like a Wilderneſs with high Fir, and other Trees. Thir Boats of Timber without any Iron in them, are either to ſail, or to be drawn up with Ropes againſt the ſtream.

North-eaſt beyond *Archangel* ſtandeth *Lampas*,[5] where twice a year is kept a great Fair of *Ruſſes*, *Tartars*, and *Samoeds*; and to the Land-ward *Mezen*, and *Slobotca*, two Towns of Traffick between the River *Pechora*, or *Petzora*, and *Duina*: To Seaward lies the Cape of *Candinos*, and the Iſland of *Colgoieve*, about 30 leagues from the Bar of *Pechora* in 69 degrees.[6]

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[3] *Hack.* 376.
[4] Ibid. 365.
[5] Ibid. 284.
[6] *Purc.* par. 3. 533.

The River *Pechora* or *Petzora* holding his Courſe hrough *Siberia*, how far the *Ruſſians* therabouts know ıot, runneth into the Sea at 72 mouths, full of Ice; bounding with Swans, Ducks, Geeſe and Partridg, vhich they take in *July*, ſell the Feathers, and ſalt he Bodies for Winter Proviſion. On this River preading to a Lake ſtands the Town of *Puſtozera* in 58 degrees,[7] having ſome 80 or 100 Houſes, where certain Merchants of *Hull* winter'd in the year 1611. The Town *Pechora*, ſmall and poor, hath 3 Churches. They traded there up the River four days journey to *Duſtzilma* a ſmall Town of 60 Houſes. The *Ruſſians* hat have travail'd, ſay that this River ſprings out of he Mountains of *Jougoria*, and runs through *Permia*. Not far from the Mouth therof are the Straits of *Vaiguts*, of which heraſter: more Eaſtward is the Point of *Naramzy*, and next to that the River *Ob*;[8] beyond which the *Muſcovites* have extended lately hir dominion. Touching the *Riphæan* Mountains, vhence *Tanais* was antiently thought to ſpring, our nen could hear nothing; but rather that the whole Country is Champain, and in the northmoſt part huge ınd deſert Woods of Fir, abounding with black Wolves, Bears, Buffs, and another Beaſt call'd Roſſonakka, whoſe Female bringeth forth by paſſing hrough ſome narrow place, as between two Stakes, ınd ſo preſſeth her Womb to a diſburthening. Travelling ſouthward they found the Country more pleaſant, fair, and better inhabited, Corn, Paſture, Medows, and huge Woods. *Arkania* (if it be not he ſame with *Archangel*) is a place of Engliſh Trade, from whence a days journey diſtant, but from Saint *Nicholas* a 100 Verſts,[9] *Colmogro* ſtands on the *Duina*; ı great Town not wall'd, but ſcatter'd. The Engliſh ıave here Lands of thir own, given them by the Em-

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[7] Ibid. *Purc.* [8] *Purc.* 549, 445, 551. [9] *Hack.* 376.

peror, and fair Houſes; not far beyond, *Pinega* running between Rocks of Alabaſter and great Woods, meets with *Duina*. From *Colmogro* to *Uſtiug* are 500 Verſts or little miles, an antient City upon the Confluence of *Juga* and *Sucana* into *Duina*,[10] which there firſt receives his name. Thence continuing by water to *Wologda*, a great City ſo nam'd of the River which paſſes through the midſt; it hath a Caſtle wall'd about with Brick and Stone, and many wooden Churches, two for every Pariſh, the one in Winter to be heated, the other us'd in Summer; this is a Town of much Traffick, a 1000 miles from Saint *Nicholas*. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open Sky by the River ſide, and no other proviſion, only what they bring with them. From *Wologda* by *Sled* they go to *Yeraſlave* on the *Volga*, whoſe breadth is there at leaſt a mile over, and thence runs 2700 Verſts to the *Caſpian* Sea,[11] having his head Spring out of *Bealozera*, which is a Lake, amidſt wherof is built a ſtrong Tower, wherin the Kings of *Moſcovy* reſerve thir Treaſure in time of War. From this Town to *Roſtove*, then to *Pereſlave* a great Town ſituate on a fair Lake; thence to *Moſco*.

Between *Yeraſlave* and *Moſco*, which is 200 miles, the Country is ſo fertile, ſo populous and full of Villages, that in a forenoon 7 or 800 *Sleds* are uſually ſeen coming with Salt Fiſh, or laden back with Corn.[12]

Moſco the chief City, lying in 55 degrees, diſtant from Saint *Nicholas* 1500 miles, is reputed to be greater then *London* with the Suburbs, but rudely built;[13] thir Houſes and Churches moſt of Timber, few of Stone, thir Streets unpav'd; it hath a fair Caſtle four-ſquare, upon a Hill, two miles about,

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[10] *Hack.* 312.
[11] Ibid. 377, 248.
[12] Ibid. 251, 335.
[13] Ibid. 313.

with Brick Walls very high, and ſome ſay 18 foot thick, 16 Gates, and as many Bulwarks; in the Caſtle are kept the chief Markets, and in Winter on the River being then firm Ice. This River *Moſcua* on the ſouth-weſt ſide incloſes the Caſtle, wherin are nine fair Churches with round gilded Towers, and the Emperor's Palace; which neither within nor without is equal for ſtate to the King's Houſes in *England*, but rather like our Buildings of old faſhion, with ſmall Windows, ſome of Glaſs, ſome with Latices, or Iron Bars.

They who travail from *Moſco* to the *Caſpian*, go by Water down the *Moſcua* to the River *Occa*;[14] then by certain Caſtles to *Rezan*, a famous City now ruinate; the 10*th* day to *Nyſnovogrod*, where *Occa* falls into *Volga*, which the *Tartars* call *Edel*. From thence the 11*th* day to *Cazan* a *Tartan* City of great Wealth hertofore, now under the *Ruſſian*; wall'd at firſt with Timber and Earth, but ſince by the Emperor *Vaſiliwich* with free Stone. From *Cazan* to the River *Cama*, falling into *Volga* from the Province of *Permia*, the People dwelling on the left ſide are *Gentiles*, and live in Woods without Houſes,[15] beyond them to *Aſtracan*, *Tartars* of *Mangat*, and *Nagay*; on the right ſide thoſe of *Crimme*. From *Moſco* to *Aſtracan* is about 600 Leagues. The Town is ſituate in an Iſland on a Hill-ſide wall'd with Earth, but the Caſtle with Earth and Timber; the Houſes, except that of the Governor's, and ſome few others, poor and ſimple; the Ground utterly barren, and without Wood: they live there on Fiſh, and Sturgeon eſpecially; which hanging up to dry in the Streets and Houſes, brings whole ſwarms of Flies, and infection to the Air, and oft great Peſtilence. This Iſland in length 12 leagues, 3 in breadth, is the

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[14] *Hack.* 325. [15] Ibid. 334.

Ruſſian limit toward the *Caſpian*, which he keeps with a ſtrong Gariſon, being 20 Leagues from that Sea, into which *Volga* falls at 70 mouths. From Saint *Nicholas*, or from *Moſco* to the *Caſpian*, they paſs in 46 days and nights, moſt part by Water.

Weſt-ward from Saint *Nicholas* 1200 miles is the City[16] *Novogrod* 58 degrees, the greateſt Mart-town of all this Dominion, and in bigneſs not inferior to *Moſco*. The way thither is through the weſtern bottom of Saint *Nicholas* Bay, and ſo along the Shoar full of dangerous Rocks to the Monaſtery *Soloſky*, wherin are at leaſt 200 Monks; the People therabout in a manner Savages, yet Tenants to thoſe Monks. Thence to the dangerous River *Owiga*, wherin are Waterfalls as ſteep as from a Mountain, and by the violence of thir deſcent kept from freezing: ſo that the Boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the Tenants of that Abby did by command, and were guides to the Merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the Town *Povenſa* ſtanding within a mile of the famous Lake *Onega* 320 miles long, and in ſom places 70, at narroweſt 25 broad, and of great depth. Thence by ſom Monaſteries to the River *Swire;* then into the Lake *Ladiſcay* much longer then *Onega;* after which into the River *Volhuſky*, which through the midſt of *Novogrod* runs into this Lake, and this Lake into the *Baltick* ſound by *Narv* and *Revel.* Thir other Cities toward the weſtern bound are *Pleſco*, *Smolenſko*, or *Vobſco*.

The Emperor exerciſeth abſolute power: if any man die without male Iſſue, his Land returns to the Emperor.[17] Any rich man who through age or other impotence is unable to ſerve the Publick, being inform'd of, is turn'd out of his Eſtate, and forc'd with his Family to live on a ſmall Penſion, while ſome

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[16] *Hack.* 365. [17] Ibid. 243.

other more deſerving is by the Duke's autority put into poſſeſſion. The manner of informing the Duke is thus. Your Grace, ſaith one, hath ſuch a Subject, abounding with Riches, but for ſervice of the State unmeet, and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do thir Country good ſervice. Immediately the Duke ſends forth to enquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, ſaith he, you have too much Living, and are unſerviceable to your Prince; leſs will ſerve you, and the reſt maintain others who deſerve more. The man thus call'd to impart his Wealth repines not, but humbly anſwers, that all he hath is God's and the Duke's, as if he made reſtitution of what more juſtly was anothers than parted with his own. Every Gentleman hath rule and juſtice over his own Tenants: if the Tenants of two Gentlemen agree not, they ſeek to compoſe it; if they cannot, each brings his Tenant before the high Judg of that Country. They have no Lawyers, but every man pleads his own Cauſe, or elſe by Bill or Anſwer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the Duke: yet Juſtice, by corruption of inferior Officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by perſonal Combat, or by Champion. If a Debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the Duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the Debt; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by Lots.[18]

The Revenues of the Emperor are what he liſt, and what his Subjects are able; and he omits not the courſeſt means to raiſe them: for in every good Town there is a drunken Tavern, call'd a *Curſemay*, which the Emperor either lets out to farm, or beſtows on ſom Duke, or Gentleman[19] in reward of his Service, who for that time is Lord of the whole Town, rob-

[18] *Hack.* 309. [19] Ibid. 314.

bing and ſpoiling at his pleaſure, till being well enricht, he is ſent at his own charge to the Wars, and there ſqueez'd of his ill got wealth; by which means the waging of War is to the Emperor little or nothing chargeable.

The *Ruſſian* armeth not leſs in time of war then 300000 men,[20] half of whom he takes with him into the Field, the reſt beſtows in Gariſons on the Borders. He preſſeth no Huſbandman or Merchant, but the Youth of the Realm. He uſeth no Foot, but ſuch as are Pioneers, or Gunners, of both which ſort 30000. The reſt being Horſemen, are all Archers, and ride with a ſhort Stirrup after the *Turkiſh*. Thir Armour is a Coat of Plate, and a Scull on thir Heads. Som of thir Coats are cover'd with Velvet, or cloth of Gold; for they deſire to be gorgeous in Arms, but the Duke himſelf above meaſure; his Pavilion cover'd with Cloth of Gold or Silver, ſet with precious Stones. They uſe little Drums at the Saddle bow inſtead of Spurs, for at the ſound therof the Horſes run more ſwiftly.

They fight without order;[21] nor willingly give battail, but by ſtealth or ambuſh. Of Cold and hard Diet marvelouſly patient; for when the Ground is cover'd with Snow froz'n a yard thick, the common Souldier will lie in the Field two months together without Tent, or covering over head; only hangs up his Mantle againſt that part from whence the Weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his Back under the Wind: his Drink the cold Stream mingl'd with Oat-meal, and the ſame all his Food: his Horſe fed with green Wood and Bark, ſtands all this while in the open Field, yet does his ſervice. The Emperor gives no pay at all, but to Strangers; yet repaies good deſerts

[20] *Hack.* 239, 250. [21] Ibid. 314, 250.

in War with certain Lands during life; and they who oftneſt are ſent to the Wars, think themſelves moſt favour'd,[22] tho ſerving without Wages. On the 12*th* of *December* yearly, the Emperor rides into the Field, which is without the City, with all his Nobility, on Jennets and Turky Horſes in great ſtate; before him 5000 Harquebuſiers, who ſhoot at a Bank of Ice, till they beat it down; the Ordnance, which they have very fair of all ſorts, they plant againſt two wooden Houſes fill'd with Earth at leaſt 30 foot thick, and beginning with the ſmalleſt, ſhoot them all off thrice over, having beat thoſe two Houſes flat. Above the reſt 6 great Cannon they have, whoſe Bullet is a yard high, ſo that a man may ſee it flying: then out of Mortar-pieces they ſhoot Wild-fire into the Air. Thus the Emperor having ſeen what his Gunners can do, returns home in the ſame order.

They follow the *Greek* Church, but with exceſs of Superſtitions:[23] thir Service is in the *Ruſſian* Tongue. They hold the Ten Commandments not to concern them, ſaying that God gave them under the Law, which *Chriſt* by his Death on the Croſs hath abrogated: the Eucharist they receive in both kinds. They obſerve 4 Lents, have Service in thir Churches daily, from two hours before dawn to evening;[24] yet for Whordom, Drunkenneſs and Extortion none worſe than the Clergy.

They have many great and rich Monaſteries,[25] where they keep great hoſpitality. That of *Trojetes* hath in it 700 Friers, and is wall'd about with Brick very ſtrongly, having many pieces of Braſs Ordnance on the Walls; moſt of the Lands, Towns, and Villages within 40 miles belong to thoſe Monks, who

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[22] *Hack.* 316.
[23] Ibid. 253.
[24] Ibid. 242, 321.
[25] Ibid. 320.

are alſo as great Merchants as any in the Land. During Eaſter Holy-daies when two Friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them ſaying, The Lord is riſen; the other anſwering,[26] It is ſo of a truth; and then they kiſs, whether Men or Women. The Emperor eſteemeth the Metropolitan next to God, after our Lady and Saint *Nicholas*, as being his ſpiritual Officer, himſelf but his temporal.[27] But the *Muſcovites* that border on *Tartaria* are yet *Pagans*.

When there is love between two,[28] the Man among other trifling Gifts, ſends to the Woman a Whip, to ſignify, if ſhe offend, what ſhe muſt expect; and it is a Rule among them, that if the Wife be not beaten once a week, ſhe thinks her ſelf not belov'd, and is the worſe; yet are they very obedient, and ſtir not forth but at ſome Seaſons. Upon utter diſlike the Huſband divorces; which Liberty no doubt they receiv'd firſt with thir Religion from the *Greek* Church,[29] and the Imperial Laws.

Thir Dead they bury with new Shooes on thir Feet,[30] as to a long Journey, and put Letters teſtimonial in thir hands to Saint *Nicholas* or Saint *Peter*, that this was a *Ruſſe* of *Ruſſes*, and dy'd in the true Faith, which, as they believe, Saint *Peter* having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven.

They have no Learning,[31] nor will ſuffer to be among them: Thir greateſt Friendſhip is in drinking: they are great Talkers, Liars, Flatterers and Diſſemblers. They delight in groſs Meats and noyſom Fiſh; thir Drink is better, being ſundry ſorts of Meath; the beſt made with Juice of a ſweet and crimſon Berry call'd *Maliena*, growing alſo in

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[26] *Hack.* 318. [27] Ibid. 320, 254. [28] Ibid. 322.
[29] Ibid. 314. [30] Ibid. 242, 254, 323. [31] Ibid. 241, 314.

:ce;[32] other ſorts with Black-cherry, or divers : Berries: another drink they uſe in the Spring n from the Birch-tree Root, whoſe Sap after dries up. But there is no People that live ſo :ably as the Poor of *Ruſſia;* if they have Straw Water, they make ſhift to live; for Straw dry'd ſtampt in Winter time is thir Bread; in Sum- Graſs and Roots; at all times Bark of Trees is Meat with them; yet many of them die in Street for hunger, none relieving or regarding ı.

'hen they are ſent into Foreign Countries,[33] or Strangers come thither, they are very ſump- s in apparel, elſe the Duke himſelf goes but ıly.

Winter they travail only upon Sleds,[34] the Ways ; hard and ſmooth with Snow, the Rivers all n: one Horſe with a Sled will draw a man 400 s in 3 days; in Summer the way is deep, and ıiling ill. The *Ruſſe* of better ſort goes not out 'inter, but on his Sled; in Summer on his Horſe: s Sled he ſits on a Carpet, or a white Bears ſkin; Sled drawn with a horſe well deckt, with many or Wolve-tails about his neck, guided by a Boy is back, other Servants riding on the tail of the

he *Ruſſian* Sea breeds a certain Beaſt which they a Morſe,[35] who ſeeks his Food on the Rocks, bing up with help of his Teeth; wherof they e as great account as we of the Elephant's ı.

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[32] *Hack.* 323.
[33] Ibid. 239.
[34] Ibid. 314.
[35] Ibid. 252.

CHAP. II.

Of Samoedia, Siberia, *and other Countries North Eaſt, ſubject to the* Muſcovites.

NOrth Eaſt of *Ruſſia* lieth *Samoedia* by the River *Ob*. This Country was firſt diſcover'd by *Oneke* a *Ruſſian*; who firſt trading privatly among them in rich Furs, got great Wealth, and the knowledg of thir Country; then reveal'd his diſcovery to *Boris* Protector to *Pheodor*, ſhewing how beneficial that Country gain'd, would be to the Empire. Who ſending Ambaſſadors among them gallantly attir'd, by fair means won thir ſubjection to the Empire, every Head paying yearly two ſkins of richeſt Sables. Thoſe Meſſengers travailing alſo 200 leagues beyond *Ob* Eaſtward, made report of pleaſant Countries, abounding with Woods and Fountains, and people riding on Elks and Loſhes; others drawn on Sleds by Rain-deer; others by Dogs as ſwift as Deer. The *Samoeds* that came along with thoſe Meſſengers, returning to *Moſco*, admir'd the ſtatelineſs of that City, and were as much admir'd for excellent Shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far diſtant as hardly could be diſcern'd.

The River *Ob*[1] is reported by the *Ruſſes* to be in breadth the ſailing of a Summer's day: but full of Iſlands and Shoals, having neither Woods, nor, till of late, Inhabitants. Out of *Ob* they turn into the River *Tawze*. The *Ruſſians* have here, ſince the *Samoeds* yielded them ſubjection, two Governours with 3 or 400 Gunners; have built Villages and ſome ſmall Caſtles; all which place they call *Mon-*

[1] *Purch.* part 3. 543, 540.

gozey or *Molgomſay*.[2] Further up-land they have alſo built other Cities of Wood, conſiſting chiefly of *Poles*, *Tartars* and *Ruſſes*, fugitive or condemned men; as *Vergateria*, *Siber*, whence the whole Country is nam'd *Tinna*, thence *Tobolſca* on this ſide *Ob*, on the Rivers *Irtis*, and *Tobol*, chief Seat of the *Ruſſian* Governour; above that, *Zergolta* in an Iſland of *Ob*, where they have a Cuſtom-houſe, beyond that on the other ſide *Ob*, *Narim*, and *Tooina* now a great City.[3] Certain Churches alſo are erected in thoſe Parts; but no man forc'd to Religion; beyond *Narim* eaſtward on the River *Telta* is built the Caſtle of *Comgoſcoi*, and all this Plantation began ſince the year 1590. with many other Towns like theſe. And theſe are the Countries from whence come all the Sables and rich Furs.

The *Samoeds* have no Towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find Moſs for thir Deer;[4] they live in companies peaceably, and are govern'd by ſome of the antienteſt amongſt them, but are Idolaters. They ſhoot wondrous cunningly: thir Arrow heads are ſharpned Stones, or Fiſh-bones, which latter ſerve them alſo for Needles; thir Thread being the Sinews of certain ſmall Beaſts, wherwith they ſow the Furs which clothe them; the furry ſide in Summer outward, in Winter inward. They have many Wives, and thir Daughters they ſell to him who bids moſt; which, if they be not lik'd, are turn'd back to thir Friends, the Huſband allowing only to the Father what the Marriage Feaſt ſtood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by thir Huſbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the Fleſh of thoſe wild Beaſts which they hunt. They are the

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[2] *Purch.* part 3. 524, 526. [3] Ibid. 526, 527.
[4] Ibid. 522, 555.

only Guides to ſuch as travail *Jougoria*, *Siberia*, or any of thoſe North-Eaſt parts in Winter;[5] being drawn on Sleds with Bucks, riding poſt day and night, if it be moon-light, and lodg on the Snow under Tents of Deer Skins in whatever place they find enough of white Moſs to feed thir Sled-Stags, turning them looſe to dig it up themſelves out of the deep Snow: another *Samoed* ſtepping to the next Wood, brings in ſtore of firing: round about which they lodg within thir Tents, leaving the top open to vent Smoak; in which manner they are as warm as the Stoves in *Ruſſia*. They carry Proviſion of meat with them, and partake beſides of what Fowl or Veniſon the *Samoed* kills with ſhooting by the way; thir drink is melted Snow. Two Deer being yok'd to a Sled riding poſt, will draw 200 miles in 24 hours without reſting, and laden with thir Stuff will draw it 30 miles in 12.

CHAP. III.

Of Tingoeſia, *and the Countries adjoining Eaſtward as far as* Cathay.

BEyond *Narim* and *Comgoſcoi*[1] the Souldiers of thoſe Garriſons travailing by appointment of the Ruſſian Governour in the year 1605. found many goodly Countries not inhabited; many vaſt Deſerts and Rivers, till at the end of ten weeks they ſpy'd certain Cottages and Herds, or companies of People, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and ſignify'd to the *Samoeds* and *Tartars*, which were Guides to the *Ruſſian* Souldiers, that they were call'd *Tingoeſi;* that thir dwelling was on the great River

[5] *Purch.* par. 3. 548. [1] Ibid. 527.

Jeniſſey. This River is ſaid to be far bigger than *Ob*,[2] diſtant from the Mouth therof 4 days and nights ſailing; and likewiſe falls into the Sea of *Naramzie:* it hath high Mountains on the Eaſt, ſom of which caſt out Fire, to the Weſt a plain and fertile Country, which in the ſpring time it overflows about 70 leagues; all that time the Inhabitants keep them in the Mountains, and then return with thir Cattel to the Plain. The *Tingoeſi* are a very gentle Nation, they have great ſwoln Throats,[3] like thoſe in *Italy* that live under the *Alps;* at perſwaſion of the *Samoeds* they forthwith ſubmitted to the *Ruſſian* Government: and at thir requeſt travailing the next year to diſcover ſtill Eaſtward, they came at length to a River, which the Savages of that place call'd *Piſida*,[4] ſomewhat leſs than *Jeniſſey;* beyond which hearing oft-times the towling of Brazen Bells, and ſomtimes the noiſe of Men and Horſes, they durſt not paſs over; they ſaw there certain Sails afar off, ſquare, and therfore ſuppos'd to be like *Indian* or *China* Sails, and the rather for that they report that great Guns have been heard ſhot off from thoſe Veſſels. In *April* and *May* they were much delighted with the fair proſpect of that Country, repleniſh'd with many rare Trees, Plants and Flowers, Beaſts and Fowl. Some think here to be the Borders of *Tangut* in the north of *Cathay*.[5] Some of thoſe *Samoeds* about the year 1610, travail'd ſo far till they came in view of a white City, and heard a great din of Bells, and report there came to them Men all arm'd in Iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611. divers out of *Cathay*, and others from *Alteen Czar*, who ſtiles himſelf the golden King, came and traded at *Zergolta*, or *Surgoot*, on the River *Ob*, bringing with

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[2] *Pur.* 527, 551, 546, 527.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. 528.
[5] Ibid. 543, 546.

them Plates of Silver. Wherupon *Michael Pheodorowick* the *Ruſſian* Emperor, in the year 1619. ſent certain of his people from *Tooma* to *Alteen*, and *Cathay*, who return'd with Ambaſſadors from thoſe Princes. Theſe relate,[6] that from *Tooma* in ten days and a half, three days wherof over a Lake, where Rubies and Saphirs grow, they came to the *Alteen* King, or King of *Alty;* through his Land in five weeks they paſs'd into the Country of *Sheromugaly*, or *Mugalla*, where reigned a Queen call'd *Manchica;* whence in four days they came to the Borders of *Cathay*, fenc'd with a ſtone Wall, 15 fathom high; along the ſide of which, having on the other hand many pretty Towns belonging to Queen *Manchica*, they travail'd ten days without ſeeing any on the Wall till they came to the Gate; where they ſaw very great Ordnance lying, and 3000 men in watch. They traffic with other Nations at the Gate, and very few at once are ſuffered to enter. They were travailing from *Tooma* to this Gate 12 weeks; and from thence to the great City of *Cathay* ten days. Where being conducted to the Houſe of Ambaſſadors, within a few days there came a Secretary from King *Tambur* with 200 Men well apparell'd, and riding on Aſſes, to feaſt them with divers ſorts of Wine, and to demand thir Meſſage; but having brought no Preſents with them, they could not be admitted to his ſight; only with his Letter to the Emperor they return'd it as aforeſaid to *Tobolſca*. They report that the Land of *Mugalla* reaches from *Boghar* to the North Sea,[7] and hath many Caſtles built of Stone four-ſquare, with Towers at the Corners cover'd with glazed Tiles; and on the Gates Alarum-Bells, or Watch-Bells, twenty pound weight of Metal; thir Houſes built alſo of Stone, the Ceelings cunningly

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[6] *Pur.* 797. [7] Ibid. 799.

painted with Flowers of all Colours. The People are Idolaters; the Country exceeding fruitful. They have Aſſes and Mules, but no Horſes. The people of *Cathay* ſay that this great Wall ſtretches from *Boghar* to the North Sea, four months journey, with continual Towers a flight ſhot diſtant from each other, and Beacons on every Tower; and that this Wall is the bound between *Mugalla* and *Cathay*. In which are but five Gates; thoſe narrow, and ſo low that a Horſe-man ſitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the Wall is the City *Shirokalga;* it hath a Caſtle well furniſh'd with ſhort Ordnance and ſmall ſhot, which they who keep watch on the Gates, Towers and Walls, duly at Sun-ſet and riſing diſcharge thrice over. The City abounds with rich Merchandize, Velvets, Damaſks, Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, with many ſorts of Sugars. Like to this is the City *Yara*, thir Markets ſmell odoriferouſly with Spices, and *Tayth* more rich than that. *Shirooan* yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to *Cathaia* the Imperial City is two days journey, built of white ſtone four ſquare, in circuit four days going, corner'd with four white Towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the Wall, white intermingl'd with blew, and Loop-holes furniſht with Ordnance. In midſt of this white City ſtands a Caſtle built of Magnet, where the King dwels, in a ſumptuous Palace, the top wherof is overlaid with Gold. The City ſtands on even ground encompaſs'd with the River *Youga*, 7 days journey from the Sea. The People are very fair, but not warlike, delighting moſt in rich Traffick. Theſe Relations are referr'd hither, becauſe we have them from *Ruſſians;* who report alſo, that there is a Sea beyond *Ob*,[8] ſo warm that all kind of Sea-Fowl live

[8] *Pur.* 806.

therabout as well in Winter as in Summer. Thus much briefly of the Sea and Lands between *Ruſſia* and *Cathay*.

CHAP. IV.

The Succeſſion of Moſcovia *Dukes and Emperors, taken out of thir Chronicles by a* Polack, *with ſome later Additions.*[1]

THe Great Dukes of *Muſcovy* derive thir Pedegree, though without ground, from *Auguſtus Cæſar:* whom they fable to have ſent certain of his Kindred to be Governours over many remote Provinces; and among them, *Pruſſus* over *Pruſſia;* him to have had his Seat on the eaſtern *Baltick* Shore by the River *Wixel;* of whom *Rurek*, *Sinaus*, and *Truuor* deſcended by the fourth Generation, were by the *Ruſſians*, living then without Civil Government, ſent for in the year 573. to bear rule over them, at the perſwaſion of *Goſtomiſlius* chief Citizen of *Novogrod.* They therfore taking with them *Olecus* thir Kinſman, divided thoſe Countries among themſelves, and each in his Province taught them Civil Government.

Ivorſon of *Rurek*, the reſt dying without Iſſue, became Succeſſor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of *Olechus*. He took to Wife *Olha* Daughter to a Citizen of *Pleſco*, of whom he begat *Stoſlaus;* but after that being ſlain by his Enemies, *Olha* his Wife went to *Conſtantinople*, and was there baptiz'd *Helena*.

Stoſlaus fought many Battels with his Enemies; but was at length by them ſlain, who made a Cup of his Scull engrav'n with this Sentence in Gold;

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[1] *Hac.* vol. i. 221.

Seeking after other Mens he loſt his own. His Sons were *Teropolchus*, *Olega*, and *Volodimir*.

Volodimir having ſlain the other two, made himſelf ſole Lord of *Ruſſia*; yet after that fact enclining to Chriſtian Religion, had to Wife *Anna* Siſter of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine Greek* Emperors; and with all his People in the year 988, was baptiz'd, and call'd *Baſilius*. Howbeit *Zonaras* reporteth that before that time *Baſilius* the *Greek* Emperor ſent a Biſhop to them; at whoſe preaching they not being mov'd, but requiring a Miracle, he after devout Prayers, taking the Book of Goſpel into his hands, threw it before them all into the Fire; which remaining there unconſum'd, they were converted.

Volodimir had eleven Sons, among whom he divided his Kingdom; *Boriſtus* and *Glebus* for thir holy Life regiſter'd Saints; and thir Feaſt kept every year in *November* with great ſolemnity. The reſt, through contention to have the ſole Government, ruin'd each other, leaving only *Jaroſlaus* inheritor of all.

Volodimir Son of *Jaroſlaus* kept his Reſidence in the antient City *Kiow* upon the River *Boriſtenes*. And after many conflicts with the Sons of his Uncles; and having ſubdu'd all, was call'd *Monomachus*. He made war with *Conſtantine* the *Greek* Emperor, waſted *Thracia*; and returning home with great ſpoils to prepare new War, was appeas'd by *Conſtantine*, who ſent *Neophytus* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and *Euſtathius* Abbot of *Jeruſalem*, to preſent him with part of our Saviour's Croſs, and other rich Gifts, and to ſalute him by the name of *Czar*, or *Cæſar*; with who mhe thenceforth enter'd into league and amity.

After him in order of deſcent *Vuſzevolodus*, *George*, *Demetrius*.

Then *George* his Son, who in the year 1237. was ſlain in battle by the *Tartar* Prince *Bathy*, who ſubdu'd *Muſcovia*, and made it tributary. From that

time the *Tartarians* made ſuch Dukes of *Ruſſia*, as they thought would be moſt pliable to thir ends; of whom they requir'd, as oft as Ambaſſadors came to him out of *Tartary*, to go out and meet them, and in his own Court to ſtand bare-headed, while they ſate and deliver'd thir Meſſage. At which time the *Tartars* waſted alſo *Polonia*, *Sileſia*, and *Hungaria*, till Pope *Innocent* the Fourth obtain'd peace of them for 5 years. This *Bathy* ſay the *Ruſſians* was the Father of *Tamerlan*, whom they call *Temirkutla*.

Then ſucceeded *Jaroſlaus* the Brother of *George*, then *Alexander* his Son.

Daniel the Son of *Alexander* was he who firſt made the City of *Moſco* his Royal Seat, builded the Caſtle, and took on him the Title of Great Duke.

John the Son of *Daniel* was ſirnamed *Kaleta*, that word ſignifying a Scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his Alms.

His Son *Simeon* dying without Iſſue left the Kingdom to *John* his next Brother; and he to his Son *Demetrius*, who left two Sons, *Baſilius* and *George*.

Baſilius reigning had a Son of his own name, but doubting leſt not of his own Body, through the ſuſpicion he had of his Wife's Chaſtity, him he diſinherits, and gives the Dukedom to his Brother *George*.

George putting his Nephew *Baſilius* in priſon, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorſe or other cauſe, ſurrenders him the Dukedom.

Baſilius unexpectedly thus attaining his ſuppoſed right, enjoy'd it not long in quiet; for *Andrew* and *Demetrius* the two Sons of *George* counting it injury not to ſucceed thir Father, made war upon him, and ſurprizing him on a ſudden, put out his Eyes. Notwithſtanding which the *Boiarens*, or Nobles kept thir Allegiance to the Duke though blind, whom therfore they call'd *Cziemnox*.

John Vaſiliwich his Son was the firſt who brought the *Ruſſian* name out of obſcurity into renown. To ſecure his own Eſtate he put to death as many of his Kindred as were likely to pretend; and ſtil'd himſelf great Duke of *Wolodimiria*, *Muſcovia*, *Novogardia*, *Czar* of all *Ruſſia*. He won *Pleſco* the only walled City in all *Muſcovy*, and *Novogrod* the richeſt, from the *Lituanians*, to whom they had been ſubject 50 years before; and from the latter carried home 300 Waggons laden with Treaſure. He had war with *Alexander* King of *Poland*, and with the *Livonians*; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his Daughter *Helena*, whom he had to wife, from the *Greek* Church to the *Romiſh*; with the *Livonians* for no other cauſe, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foil'd by *Plettebergius* great Maſter of the *Pruſſian* Knights. His Wife was Daughter to the Duke of *Tyverſky*; of her he begat *John*, and to him reſigned his Dukedom, giving him to Wife the Daughter of *Steven*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, by whom he had Iſſue *Demetrius*, and deceas'd ſoon after. *Vaſiliwich* therfore reaſſuming the Dukedom, married a ſecond Wife, *Sophia* Daughter to *Thomas Palæologus*; who is ſaid to have receiv'd her Dowry out of the Pope's Treaſury, upon promiſe of the Duke to become *Romiſh*.

This Princeſs of a haughty mind, often complaining that ſhe was married to the *Tartars* Vaſſal, at length by continual perſwaſions, and by a wile found means to eaſe her Huſband, and his Country of that Yoke. For wheras till then the *Tartar* had his Procurators, who dwelt in the very Caſtle of *Moſco*, to overſee State-affairs, ſhe fain'd that from Heaven ſhe had been warn'd to build a Temple to Saint *Nicholas* on the ſame place where the *Tartar* Agents had thir Houſe. Being therfore delivered of a Son, ſhe made it her requeſt to the Prince of *Tartary*, whom ſhe had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her

that Houſe, which obtaining, ſhe raz'd to the ground, and remov'd thoſe Overſeers out of the Caſtle; and ſo by degrees diſpoſſeſs'd them of all which they held in *Ruſſia*. She prevail'd alſo with her Huſband to transfer the Dukedom from *Demetrius* the Son of *John* deceas'd to *Gabriel* his eldeſt by her.

Gabriel no ſooner Duke, but chang'd his name to *Baſilius*, and ſet his mind to do nobly; he recover'd great part of *Muſcovy* from *Vitoldus* Duke of *Lituania;* and on the *Boriſthenes* won *Smolenſko* and many other Cities in the Year 1514. He divorc'd his firſt Wife, and of *Helena* Daughter to Duke *Glinſki* begat *Juan Vaſiliwich*.

Juan Vaſiliwich being left a Child, was committed to *George* his Uncle and Protector; at 25 years of age he vanquiſh'd the *Tartars* of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, bringing home with him thir Princes captive; made cruel War in *Livonia*, pretending right of inheritance. He ſeem'd exceedingly devout; and wheras the *Ruſſians* in thir Churches uſe out of zeal and reverence to knock thir Heads againſt the ground, his Forehead was ſeldom free of ſwellings and bruzes, and very often ſeen to bleed. The cauſe of his rigour in Government he alledg'd to be the malice and treachery of his Subjects. But ſome of the Nobles,[2] incited by his cruelty, call'd in the *Crim Tartar*, who in the Year 1571. broke into *Ruſſia*, burnt *Moſco* to the ground: He reigned 54 years, had three Sons, of which the eldeſt being ſtrook on a time by his Father, with grief therof dy'd; his other Sons were *Pheodor* and *Demetrius*. In the time of *Juan Vaſiliwich* the *Engliſh* came firſt by Sea into the north parts of *Ruſſia*.

Pheodor Juanowick being under age, was left to the protection of *Boris*, Brother to the young Empreſs,

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[2] *Horſey's* Obſervations.

and third Son by adoption in the Emperour's Will.[3] After 40 daies of mourning, the appointed time of Coronation being come, the Emperour iſſuing out of his Palace,[4] the whole Clergy before him, enter'd with his Nobility the Church of *Blaveſhina* or Bleſſednes; whence after Service to the Church of *Michael*, then to our Lady Church, being the Cathedral. In the midſt wherof a Chair of Majeſty was plac'd, and moſt unvaluable Garments put upon him; there alſo was the imperial Crown ſet on his Head by the Metropolitan, who out of a ſmall Book in his hand read Exhortations to the Emperour of Juſtice and peaceable Government. After this riſing from his Chair he was inveſted with an upper Robe, ſo thick with Orient Pearls and Stones, as weigh'd 200 pounds, the Train born up by 6 Dukes; his Staff imperial was of a Unicorn's Horn three foot and a half long, beſet with rich Stones; his Globe and ſix Crowns carried before him by Princes of the Blood; his Horſe at the Church door ſtood ready with a Covering of imbroidered Pearl, Saddle and all ſutable, to the value of 300000 Marks. There was a kind of Bridg made three waies, 150 fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, wheron the Emperor with his Train went from one Church to another above the infinite throng of People making loud Acclamations: At the Emperour's returning from thoſe Churches they were ſpread under-foot with Cloth of Gold, the Porches with red Velvet, the Bridges with Scarlet and Stammel-cloth, all which, as the Emperour paſsd by, were cut and ſnatch't by them that ſtood next; beſides new minted Coins of Gold and Silver caſt among the People. The Empreſs in her Palace was plac't before a great open Window in rich and ſhining Robes, among her Ladies. After this the Emperor came

[3] *Hack.* vol. 1. 466. [4] *Horſey.*

into Parlament, where he had a Banquet ſerv'd by his Nobles in princely order; two ſtanding on either ſide his Chair with Battel-axes of Gold; three of the next Rooms great and large, being ſet round with Plate of Gold and Silver, from the ground up to the roof. This Triumph laſted a week, wherin many royal Paſtimes were ſeen: after which election was made of the Nobles to new Offices and Dignities. The concluſion of all was a Peal of 170 Braſs Ordnance two miles without the City, and 20000 Harquebuzes twice over: and ſo the Emperour with at leaſt 50000 Horſe return'd through the City to his Palace, where all the Nobility, Officers, and Merchants brought him rich Preſents. Shortly after the Emperour by direction of *Boris* conquer'd the large Country of *Siberia*, and took Priſoner the King therof: he remov'd alſo corrupt Officers and former Taxes. In ſum, a great alteration in the Government follow'd, yet all quietly and without Tumult. Theſe things reported abroad ſtrook ſuch awe into the neighbour Kings, that the Crim *Tartar*, with his Wives alſo, and many Nobles valiant and perſonable men, came to viſit the *Ruſſian*. There came alſo 12 hundred *Poliſh* Gentlemen, many *Circaſſians*, and People of other Nations to offer ſervice; Ambaſſadors from the *Turk*, the *Perſian*, *Georgian*, and other *Tartar* Princes; from *Almany*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*. But this glory laſted not long through the treachery of *Boris*, who procured the Death firſt of *Demetrius*, then of the Emperour himſelf, wherby the Imperial Race after the ſucceſſion of 300 years was quite extinguiſht.

Boris adopted, as before was ſaid, third Son to *Juan Vaſiliwich*, without impeachment now aſcended the Throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had ſo wickedly compaſs'd, divine revenge raiſing up againſt him a Counterfeit of that *Demetrius* whom

he had caus'd to be murthered at *Ouglets*.[5] This Upſtart, ſtrength'd with many *Poles* and *Coſſacks*, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of *Boris*, who ſent againſt him an army of 200000 Men, many of whom revolted to this *Demetrius*: *Peter Baſman* the General returning to *Moſco* with the empty Triumph of a reported Victory. But the Enemy ſtill advancing, *Boris* one day, after a plentiful Meal, finding himſelf heavy and pain'd in his Stomach, laid him down on his Bed; but e're his Doctors, who made great haſte, came to him, was found ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after dy'd with grief, as is ſuppos'd, of his ill ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*. Before his death, though it were ſpeedy, he would be ſhorn, and new chriſtn'd. He had but one Son, whom he lov'd ſo fondly, as not to ſuffer him out of ſight; uſing to ſay he was Lord and Father of his Son, and yet his Servant, yea his Slave. To gain the Peoples love, which he had loſt by his ill getting the Empire, he us'd two Policies; firſt he caus'd *Moſco* to be fired in four Places, that in the quenching therof he might ſhew his great care and tenderneſs of the People; among whom he likewiſe diſtributed ſo much of his Bounty, as both new built thir Houſes, and repair'd thir Loſſes. At another time the People murmuring that the great Peſtilence which had then ſwept away a third part of the Nation, was the puniſhment of thir electing him, a Murtherer, to reign over them, he built Galleries round about the utmoſt Wall of *Moſco*, and there appointed for one whole month 20000 pound to be given to the Poor, which well nigh ſtopt their Mouths. After the death of *Boris*, *Peter Baſman*, thir only hope and refuge, though a young man, was ſent again to the Wars, with him many *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *French*, and

[5] 1604. *Purc.* par. 3. 750.

Dutch; who all with the other General *Goleeche* fell off to the new *Demetrius*, whoſe Meſſengers coming now to the Suburbs of *Moſco*, were brought by the Multitude to that ſpacious Field before the Caſtle Gate, within which the Council were then ſitting, many of whom were by the Peoples threatning call'd out and conſtrain'd to hear the Letters of *Demetrius* openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought ſo with the Multitude, that furiouſly they broke into the Caſtle, laying violence on all they met; when ſtrait appear'd coming towards them two Meſſengers of *Demetrius* formerly ſent, pitifully whipt and roaſted, which added to thir rage. Then was the whole City in an uproar, all the great Counſelors Houſes ranſack't, eſpecially of the *Godonova's*, the Kindred and Family of *Boris*. Such of the Nobles that were beſt belov'd, by entreaty prevail'd at length to put an end to this Tumult. The Empreſs flying to a ſafer place, had her Collar of Pearl pull'd from her Neck; and by the next Meſſage command was given to ſecure her with her Son and Daughter. Wherupon *Demetrius* by general conſent was proclaim'd Emperor. The Empreſs now ſeeing all loſt, counſel'd the Prince her Son to follow his Father's example, who, it ſeems, had diſpatcht himſelf by Poyſon; and with a deſperate courage beginning the deadly Health, was pledg'd effectually by her Son; but the Daughter only ſipping, eſcap'd. Others aſcribe this deed to the ſecret Command of *Demetrius*, and Self-murther imputed to them, to avoid the envy of ſuch a Command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for ſo he call'd himſelf, who ſucceeded,[6] was credibly reported the Son of *Gregory Peupoloy* a *Ruſſe* Gentleman, and in his younger years to have been ſhorn a Friar, but eſcap-

[6] *Purc.* par. 3. 764.

ng from the Monaſtery, to have travail'd *Germany* ınd other Countries, but chiefly *Poland:* where he ıttain'd to good ſufficiency in Arms and other Exɔerience; which rais'd in him ſuch high thoughts, ıs grounding on a common belief among the *Ruſſians*, that the young *Demetrius* was not dead, but :onvey'd away, and their hatred againſt *Boris*, on his foundation with ſome other circumſtances, to ɔuild his hopes no lower than an Empire; which ɔn his firſt diſcovery found acceptation ſo generally, ıs planted him at length on the Royal Seat: but ıot ſo firmly as the fair beginning promis'd; for in ı ſhort while the *Ruſſians* finding themſelves abus'd ɔy an Impoſtor, on the ſixth day after his Marriage, ɔbſerving when his Guard of *Poles* were moſt ſecure, uſhing into the Palace before break of day, drag'd ıim out of his Bed, and when he had confeſs'd the raud, pull'd him to pieces; with him *Peter Baſman* vas alſo ſlain, and both thir dead Bodies laid open n the Market-place. He was of no preſence, but ɔtherwiſe of a princely diſpoſition; too bountiful, vhich occaſion'd ſome exactions; in other matters . great lover of Juſtice, not unworthy the Empire vhich he had gotten, and loſt only through greatıeſs of mind, neglecting the Conſpiracy, which he :new the *Ruſſians* were plotting. Some ſay thir ıatred grew, for that they ſaw him alienated from he *Ruſſian* Manners and Religion, having made *Bubinſkoy* a learned Proteſtant his Secretary. Some :port from *Gilbert's* relation, who was a *Scot*, and :aptain of his Guard, that lying on his Bed awake, ot long before the Conſpiracy, he ſaw the appearnce of an aged man coming toward him, at which e roſe, and call'd to them that watch'd; but they enied to have ſeen any ſuch paſs by them. He reırning to his Bed, and within an hour after troubl'd gain with the ſame Apparition, ſent for *Buchinſkoy*,

telling him he had now twice the ſame night ſeen an aged man, who at his ſecond coming told him, that though he were a good Prince of himſelf, yet for the injuſtice and oppreſſion of his inferiour Miniſters, his Empire ſhould be taken from him. The Secretary counſell'd him to embrace true Religion, affirming that for lack therof his Officers were ſo corrupt. The Emperor ſeem'd to be much mov'd, and to intend what was perſwaded him. But a few daies after, the other Secretary, a *Ruſſian*, came to him with a drawn Sword, of which the Emperour made ſlight at firſt; but he after bold words aſſaulted him, ſtrait ſeconded by other Conſpirators, crying Liberty. *Gilbert* with many of the Guard overſuddenly ſurpris'd, retreated to *Coluga* a Town which they fortify'd; moſt of the other Strangers were maſſacred, except the *Engliſh*, whoſe mediation ſav'd alſo *Buchinſkoy*. *Shuſky* who ſucceeded him reports in a Letter to King *James* otherwiſe of him; that his right name was *Gryſhca* the Son of *Boughdam*; that to eſcape puniſhment for Villanies done, he turn'd Fryar, and fell at laſt to the Black Art; and fearing that the Metropolitan intended therfore to impriſon him, fled into *Lettow*; where by counſel of *Sigiſmund* the *Poland* King, he began to call himſelf *Demetry* of *Ouglitts*; and by many Libels and Spies privily ſent into *Moſco*, gave out the ſame; that many Letters and Meſſengers therupon were ſent from *Boris* into *Poland*, and from the Patriarch, to acquaint them who the Runnagate was: but the *Polanders* giving them no credit, furniſht him the more with Arms and Money, notwithſtanding the League; and ſent the Palatine *Sandamerſko* and other Lords to accompany him into *Ruſſia*, gaining alſo a Prince of the Crim *Tartars* to his aid; that the Army of *Boris* hearing of his ſudden death, yielded to this *Gryſhca*, who taking to wife the Daughter of

Sandamerſko, attempted to root out the *Ruſſian* Clergy, and to bring in the *Romiſh* Religion, for which purpoſe many Jeſuits came along with him. Wherupon *Shuſky* with the Nobles and Metropolitans conſpiring againſt him, in half a year gather'd all the Forces of *Moſcovia*, and ſurpriſing him found writing under his own hand all theſe his intentions; Letters alſo from the Pope and Cardinals to the ſame effect, not only to ſet up the Religion of *Rome*, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refus'd.

Vaſily Evanowich Shuſky,[7] after the ſlaughter of *Demetry* or *Gryſhca*, was elected Emperor, having not long before been at the Block for reporting to have ſeen the true *Demetrius* dead and buried; but *Gryſhca* not only recall'd him, but advanc'd him to be the inſtrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of 50; nobly deſcended, never married, of great wiſdom reputed, a favourer of the *Engliſh*; for he ſav'd them from rifling in the former Tumults. Some ſay[8] he modeſtly refus'd the Crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that growing jealous of his Title, remov'd by Poyſon and other means all the Nobles that were like to ſtand his Rivals; and is ſaid to have conſulted with Witches of the *Samoeds*, *Lappians*, and *Tartarians*, about the ſame fears; and being warn'd of one *Michalowich* to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reſerv'd by Fate to ſucceed him, being then a Youth attendant in the Court, one of thoſe that held the golden Axes, and leaſt ſuſpected. But before that time he alſo was ſupplanted by another reviving *Demetrius* brought in by the *Poles*; whoſe counterfeited Hand, and ſtrange relating of privateſt Circumſtances, had almoſt deceiv'd *Gilbert* himſelf, had not thir Perſons been utterly unlike;

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[7] *Poſt Chriſt* 1606. [8] *Purc.* par. 3. 769, *&c.*

but *Gryſhca's* Wife ſo far believ'd him for her Huſband, as to receive him to her Bed. *Shuſky* beſieg'd in his Caſtle of *Moſco*, was adventrouſly ſupply'd with ſome Powder and Ammunition by the *Engliſh*; and with 2000 *French*, *Engliſh* and *Scots*, with other Forces from *Charles* King of *Sweden*. The *Engliſh*[9] after many miſeries of Cold, and Hunger, and aſſaults by the way, deſerted by the *French*, yielded moſt of them to the *Pole* near *Smolenſko*, and ſerv'd him againſt the *Ruſs*.[10] Mean while this ſecond *Demetrius* being now rejected by the *Poles*, with thoſe *Ruſſians* that ſided with him, laid ſiege to *Moſco*: *Zolkiewſky* for *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland* beleaguers on the other ſide with forty thouſand Men, whereof 1500 *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *French*. *Shuſky* deſpairing ſucceſs, betakes him to a Monaſtery; but with the City is yielded to the *Pole*, who turns now his force againſt the Counterfeit *Demetrius*; he ſeeking to fly, is by a *Tartar* ſlain in his Camp. *Smolenſko* held out a Siege of two years, then ſurrendr'd. *Shuſky* the Emperor carried away into *Poland*, there ended miſerably in priſon. But before his departure out of *Muſcovy* the *Polanders* in his name ſending for the chief Nobility, as to a laſt farewell, cauſe them to be entertain'd in a ſecret place, and there diſpatch'd: by this means the eaſier to ſubdue the People. Yet the *Poles* were ſtarv'd at length out of thoſe Places in *Moſco* which they had fortify'd. Wherin the *Ruſſians* who beſieg'd them, found, as is reported, 60 Barrels of Man's Fleſh powdered, being the Bodies of ſuch as dy'd among them, or were ſlain in fight.[11]

After[12] which the Empire of *Ruſſia* broke to pieces, the prey of ſuch as could catch, every one naming himſelf, and ſtriving to be accounted that *Demetrius*

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9 *Poſt Chriſt* 1609.
10 *Purc.* 779.
11 *Janſonius.*
12 *Poſt Chriſt* 1612.

Ouglitts. Some choſe *Uladiſlaus* King *Sigiſmund's* n, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular ›vernment, killing all the Nobles under pretence favouring the *Poles*. Some overtures of receiving :m were made, as ſome ſay, to King *James*, and ·*John Meric* and Sir *William Ruſſel* imploy'd therin. ıus *Ruſſia* remaining in this confuſion, it happ'nd ıt a mean man, a Butcher dwelling in the North out *Duina*, inveighing againſt the baſeneſs of thir ɔbility,[13] and the corruption of Officers, uttered ›rds, that if they would but chooſe a faithful Trea- :er to pay well the Souldiers, and a good General ıming one *Pozarſky* a poor Gentleman, who after od ſervice don liv'd not far off retir'd and neglected) ıt then he doubted not to drive out the *Poles*. The :ople aſſent, and chooſe that General; the Butcher :y make thir Treaſurer, who both ſo well diſ- arg'd thir Places, that with an Army ſoon gather'd :y raiſe the ſiege of *Moſco*, which the *Polanders* d renew'd; and with *Boris Licin*, another great uldier of that Country, fall into conſultation about : choice of an Emperour, and choſe at laſt *Micha- vich*, or *Michael Pheodorowich*, the fatal Youth, ıoſe name *Shuſky* ſo fear'd.

Michael Pheodorowich[14] thus elected by the valour *Pozarſky* and *Boris Licin*, made them both Gene- s of his Forces, joining with them another great ›mmander of the *Coſſacks*, whoſe aid had much friended him; the Butcher alſo was made a Coun- lor of State. Finally a Peace was made up be- een the *Ruſſians* and the *Poles*; and that partly the mediation of King *James*.

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[13] *Purc.* par. 3. 790.

[14] *Poſt Chriſt* 1613.

CHAP. V.

The firſt diſcovery of Ruſſia *by the North Eaſt,* 1553, *with the* Engliſh *Embaſſies and Entertainments at that Court, until the year* 1604.

THe Diſcovery of *Ruſſia* by the Northern Ocean,[1] made firſt of any Nation that we know by *Engliſh*-men, might have ſeem'd an Enterprize almoſt heroic, if any higher end than the exceſſive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the deſign. Nevertheleſs that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledg of Nature, and other Obſervations are hereby come to light, as good events ofttimes ariſe from evil occaſions, it will not be the worſt labour to relate briefly the beginning, and proſecution of this adventurous Voyage, until it became at laſt a familiar Paſſage.

When our Merchants perceiv'd the Commodities of *England* to be in ſmall requeſt abroad, and forein Merchandize to grow higher in eſteem and value than before, they began to think with themſelves how this might be remedied. And ſeeing how the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* had encreas'd thir Wealth by diſcovery of new Trades and Countries, they reſolv'd upon ſome new and ſtrange Navigation. At the ſame time *Sebaſtian Chabota*, a man for the knowledg of Sea-affairs much renown'd in thoſe days, happen'd to be in *London*. With him firſt they conſult; and by his advice conclude to furniſh out three Ships for the ſearch and diſcovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain Worm is bred in that Ocean, which many times eateth through

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[1] *Hac.* vol. i. 243, 234.

the ſtrongeſt Oak, they contrive to cover ſome part of the Keel of thoſe Ships with thin ſheets of Lead; and victual them for 18 months; allowing equally to thir journey, thir ſtay, and thir return. Arms alſo they provide, and ſtore of Munition with ſufficient Captains and Governours for ſo great an Enterpriſe. To which among many, and ſome void of experience that offer'd themſelves, Sir *Hugh Willowby* a valiant Gentleman earneſtly requeſted to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly perſonage, and ſingular ſkil in the ſervices of War, they made choice to be Admiral, and of *Richard Chancelor*, a man greatly eſteem'd for his ſkil, to be chief Pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. *Henry Sidney*, afterwards Deputy of *Ireland*, who coming where the Adventurers were gather'd together, though then a young man, with a grave and eloquent Speech commended *Chancelor* unto them.

After this, they omitted no enquiry after any perſon that might inform them concerning thoſe North-eaſterly parts to which the Voyage tended; and two *Tartarians* then of the Kings's Stable were ſent for; but they were able to anſwer nothing to purpoſe. So, after much debate, it was concluded that by the 20*th* of *May* the Ships ſhould depart. Being come near *Greenwich*, where the Court then lay, preſently the Courtiers came running out, the Privy Council at the Windows, the reſt on the Towers and Battlements. The Mariners all apparell'd in watchet or ſky-coloured Cloth, diſcharge thir Ordnance; the noiſe wherof, and of the People ſhouting, is anſwer'd from the Hills and Waters with as loud an Echo: Only the good King *Edward*, then ſick, beheld not this ſight, but dy'd ſoon after. From hence putting into *Harwich*, they ſta idlong, and loſt much time. At length paſſing by *Shetland*, they kenn'd a far off *Ægelands*, being an innumerable ſort of Ilands call'd *Roſt Ilands* in 66

degrees. Thence to *Lofoot* in 68, to *Seinam* in 70 degrees; theſe Ilands belong all to the Crown of *Denmark*. Whence departing, Sir *Hugh Willowby* ſet out his Flag, by which he call'd together the chief men of his other Ships to counſel; where they conclude, in caſe they happen'd to be ſcatter'd by Tempeſt, that *Wardhouſe*, a noted Haven in *Finmark* be the appointed place of thir meeting. The very ſame day afternoon ſo great a Tempeſt aroſe, that the Ships were ſome driv'n one way, ſome another in great peril. The General with his loudeſt voice call'd to *Chancelor* not to be far from him; but in vain, for the Admiral ſailing much better than his Ship, and bearing all her Sails, was carried with great ſwiftneſs ſoon out of ſight; but before that, the Ship-boat ſtriking againſt her Ship was overwhelmed in view of the *Bonaventure*, wherof *Chancelor* was Captain. The third Ship[2] alſo in the ſame Storm was loſt. But Sir *Hugh Willowby* eſcaping that Storm, and wandring on thoſe deſolate Seas till the 18*th* of *September*, put into a Haven where they had weather as in the depth of Winter; and there determining to abide till Spring, ſent out three men South-Weſt to find Inhabitants; who journy'd three days, but found none; then other three went Weſtward four days journey, and laſtly three South Eaſt three days; but they all returning without news of People, or any ſign of Habitation, Sir *Hugh* with the Company of his two Ships abode there till *January*, as appears by a Will ſince found in one of the Ships; but then periſh'd all with cold. This River or Haven was *Arzina* in *Lapland* near to *Kegor*,[3] where they were found dead the year after by certain *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen. Wherof the *Engliſh* Agent at *Moſco* having notice, ſent and recover'd the

[2] *Hac.* 235. [3] Ibid. 464.

Ships with the dead Bodies and moſt of the Goods, and ſent them for *England;* but the Ships being unſtaunch, as is ſuppos'd, by thir two years wintring in *Lapland*, ſunk by the way with thir dead, and them alſo that brought them. But now *Chancelor* with his Ship and Company thus left, ſhap'd his courſe to *Ward-houſe*, the place agreed on to expect the reſt; where having ſtaid ſeven days without tidings of them, he reſolves at length to hold on his Voyage; and ſail'd ſo far till he found no night, but continual day and Sun clearly ſhining on that huge and vaſt Sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great Bay, nam'd, as they knew after, from Saint *Nicholas;* and ſpying a Fiſher-boat, made after him to know what People they were. The Fiſhermen amaz'd with the greatneſs of his Ship, to them a ſtrange and new ſight, ſought to fly; but overtak'n, in great fear they proſtrate themſelves, and offer to kiſs his feet; but he raiſing them up with all ſigns and geſtures of courteſie, ſought to win thir Friendſhip. They no ſooner diſmiſt, but ſpread abroad the arrival of a ſtrange Nation, whoſe humanity they ſpake of with great affection; wherupon the People running together, with like return of all courteous uſage receive them; offering them Victuals freely; nor refuſing to traffick, but for a Loyal Cuſtom which bound them from that, without firſt the conſent had of thir King. After mutual demands of each other's Nation, they found themſelves to be in *Ruſſia*, where *Juan Vaſiliwich* at that time reign'd Emperor. To whom privily the Governour of that place ſending notice of the ſtrange Gueſts that were arriv'd, held in the mean while our Men in what ſuſpence he could. The Emperor well pleas'd with ſo unexpected a Meſſage, invites them to his Court, offering them Poſt-horſes at his own charge, or if the journey ſeem'd overlong, that they might freely traffic where they were. But

'ere this Meſſenger could return, having loſt his way, the *Muſcovites* themſelves, loth that our men ſhould depart which they made ſhew to do, furniſh'd them with Guides and other Conveniences to bring them to thir King's Preſence. *Chancelor* had now gon more than half his journey, when the Sled-man ſent to Court meets him on the way; delivers him the Emperor's Letters; which when the *Ruſſes* underſtood, ſo willing they were, to obey the Contents therof, that they quarrell'd and ſtrove who ſhould have the preferment to put his Horſes to the Sled. So after a long and troubleſom journey of 1500 miles he arrived at *Moſco*. After he had remain'd in the City about 12 days, a Meſſenger was ſent to bring them to the King's Houſe. Being enter'd within the Court-Gates, and brought into an outward Chamber, they beheld there a very honourable Company, to the number of a hunder'd, ſitting all apparell'd in Cloth of gold down to thir Ancles: next conducted to the Chamber of Preſence, there ſate the Emperor on a lofty and very Royal Throne; on his Head a Diadem of gold, his Robe all of Goldſmiths work, in his Hand a Chryſtal Sceptre garniſh'd and beſet with precious Stones; no leſs was his Countenance full of Majeſty. Beſide him ſtood his chief Secretary; on his other ſide the great Commander of ſilence, both in Cloth of gold; then ſate his Council of 150 round about on high Seats, clad all as richly. *Chancelor* nothing abaſh'd, made his obeyſance to the Emperor after the *Engliſh* manner. The Emperor having taken and read his Letters, after ſome enquiry of King *Edward's* Health, invited them to dinner, and till then diſmiſs'd them. But before diſmiſſion the Secretary preſented thir Preſent bare-headed; till which time they were all cover'd; and before admittance our men had charge not to ſpeak, but when

the Emperor demanded ought. Having ſat two hours in the Secretary's Chamber, they were at length call'd in to dinner; where the Emperor was ſet at Table, now in a Robe of Silver, and another Crown on his Head. This place was call'd the golden Palace, but without cauſe, for the *Engliſh*-men had ſeen many fairer; round about the room, but at diſtance, were other long Tables; in the midſt a Cupboard of huge and maſſy goblets, and other Veſſels of gold and ſilver; among the reſt four great Flagons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of Towers and Dragons heads. The Gueſts aſcended to thir Tables by three ſteps; all apparell'd in Linen, and that lin'd with rich Furs. The Meſſes came in without order, but all in Chargers of Gold, both to the Emperor, and to the reſt that din'd there, which were two hundred Perſons; on every Board alſo were ſet Cups of gold without number. The Servitors one hundred and forty were likewiſe array'd in gold, and waited with Caps on thir heads. They that are in high favour, ſit on the ſame Bench with the Emperor, but far off. Before Meat came in, according to the cuſtom of thir Kings, he ſent to every Gueſt a ſlice of Bread; whom the Officer naming, ſaith thus, *John Baſiliwich* Emperor of *Ruſs*, &c. doth reward thee with Bread, at which words all men ſtand up. Then were Swans in ſeveral pieces ſerv'd in, each piece in a ſeveral Diſh, which the Great Duke ſends about as the Bread, and ſo likewiſe the Drink. In dinner time he twice chang'd his Crown, his Waiters thrice thir Apparel; to whom the Emperor in like manner gives both Bread and Drink with his own hands; which they ſay is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own Houſhold; and indeed when Dinner was done, he call'd his Nobles every one before him by name; and by this time

Candles were brought in, for it grew dark; and the *Engliſh* departed to thir Lodgings from Dinner, an hour within night.

In the year 1555[4] *Chancelor* made another Voyage to this place with Letters from Queen *Mary;* had a Houſe in *Moſco*, and Diet appointed him; and was ſoon admitted to the Emperor's Preſence in a large room ſpread with Carpets; at his entring and ſalutation all ſtood up, the Emperor only ſitting, except when the Queen's Name was read or ſpoken; for then he himſelf would riſe: at Dinner he ſat bareheaded, his Crown and rich Cap ſtanding on a Pinacle by.[5] *Chancelor* returning for *England*, *Oſep Napea* Governour of *Wologda* came in his Ship Ambaſſador from the *Ruſſe;* but ſuffering Shipwrack in *Pettiſlego*, a Bay in *Scotland*, *Chancelor*, who took more care to ſave the Ambaſſador than himſelf, was drown'd, the Ship rifled, and moſt of her lading made booty by the People therabout.

In the year 1557,[6] *Oſep Napea* returned into his Country with *Anthony Jenkinſon* who had the command of four tall Ships. He reports of a Whirlpool between the *Roſt Iſlands* and *Lofoot* call'd *Maleſtrand;* which from half ebb till half flood is heard to make ſuch a terrible noiſe, as ſhakes the Door-rings of Houſes in thoſe Iſlands ten mile off; Wales that come within the Current therof make a pitiful cry; Trees carried in and caſt out again, have the ends and boughs of them ſo beaten, as they ſeem like the ſtalks of bruized Hemp. About *Zeinam* they ſaw many Whales very monſtrous hard by thir Ships; wherof ſome by eſtimation ſixty foot long; they roard hideouſly, it being then the time of thir engendring. At *Wardhouſe* he ſaith the Cattel are fed with Fiſh. Coming to *Moſco*, he found the Emperor ſitting aloft

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[4] *Hack.* 258, 263, 465. [5] Ibid. 286. [6] Ibid. 310, *&c.*

ı a Chair of State, richly Crown'd, a Staff of gold ı his hand wrought with coſtly ſtone. Diſtant from ;im ſat his Brother, and a Youth the Emperor's Son f *Caſan*, whom the *Ruſs* had conquer'd; there din'd vith him diverſe Ambaſſadors, Chriſtian and Heahen, diverſly apparell'd; his Brother with ſome of he chief Nobles ſat with him at Table: the Gueſts vere in all ſix hundred. In Dinner-time came in ix Muſicians, and ſtanding in the midſt, ſung three everal times, but with little or no delight to our nen; there din'd at the ſame time in other Halls wo thouſand *Tartars* who came to ſerve the Duke n his Wars. The *Engliſh* were ſet at a ſmall Table y themſelves direct before the Emperor; who ſent hem diverſe Bowls of Wine and Meath, and many Diſhes from his own hand: the Meſſes were but nean, but the change of Wines and ſeveral Meaths vere wonderful. As oft as they din'd with the Emperor, he ſent for them in the morning, and invited hem with his own Mouth. [7]On *Chriſtmas*-day being invited, they had for other proviſion as before; but for ſtore of gold and ſilver Plate exceſſive; among which were twelve Barrels of ſilver, hoop'd with fine gold, containing twelve gallons a piece.

1560. Was the firſt *Engliſh* traffick to the *Narve* n *Livonia*, till then conceal'd by *Danſkers* and *Lubeckers*.

1561. The ſame *Anthony Jenkinſon* made another Voyage to *Moſco*; and arriv'd while the Emperor was celebrating his Marriage with a *Circaſſian* Lady; luring which time the City Gates for three days were kept ſhut; and all men whatſoever ſtraitly commanded to keep within thir Houſes, except ſome of his Houſhold; the cauſe wherof is not known.

1566. He made again the ſame Voyage;[8] which

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[7] *Hack.* 317. [8] Ibid. 311.

now men uſually made in a month from *London* to Saint *Nicholas* with good Winds, being ſeven hundred and fifty leagues.

1568. *Thomas Randolf*, Eſquire, went Ambaſſador to *Muſcovy*,[9] from Queen *Elizabeth*; and in his paſſage by Sea met nothing remarkable ſave great ſtore of Whales, whom they might ſee engendring together, and the Sperma-ceti ſwimming on the Water. At *Colmogro* he was met by a Gentleman from the Emperor, at whoſe charge he was conducted to *Moſco*: but met there by no man, not ſo much as the *Engliſh*; lodg'd in a fair Houſe built for Ambaſſadors; but there confin'd upon ſome ſuſpicion which the Emperor had conceav'd; ſent for at length after ſeventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrow'd Horſe, his men on foot. In a Chamber before the Preſence were ſitting about three hundred Perſons, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperor's Wardrobe for that day; they ſat on three ranks of Benches, rather for ſhew than that the Perſons were of honour; being Merchants and other mean Inhabitants. The Ambaſſador ſaluted them, but by them unſaluted paſs'd on with his Head cover'd. At the Preſence-door being receiv'd by two which had been his Guardians, and brought into the midſt, he was there will'd to ſtand ſtill, and ſpeak his meſſage from the Queen; at whoſe name the Emperor ſtood up, and demanded her health: then giving the Ambaſſador his Hand to kiſs, fell to many queſtions. The Preſent being deliver'd, which was a great ſilver Bowl curiouſly grav'n, the Emperor told him he din'd not that day openly becauſe of great affairs; but, ſaith he, I will ſend thee my Dinner, and augment thy Allowance. And ſo diſmiſſing him, ſent a Duke richly apparell'd ſoon

[9] *Hack.* 373.

fter to his Lodging with fifty Perſons, each of them arrying Meat in ſilver Diſhes cover'd; which himelf deliver'd into the Ambaſſador's own hands, taſting firſt of every Diſh, and every ſort of Drink; hat don, ſet him down with his Company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The Emperor ſent back with this Ambaſſador another of his own call'd *Andrew Savin*.

1571. *Jenkinſon* made a third Voyage; but was taid long at *Colmogro* by reaſon of the Plague in hoſe Parts; at length had audience where the Court hen was, near to *Pereſlave*; to which place the Emperor was return'd from his *Swediſh* War with ill ucceſs: and *Moſco* the ſame year had been wholly burnt by the *Crim*; in it the *Engliſh* houſe, and diverſe *Engliſh* were ſmother'd in the Sellars, multitudes of people in the City periſh'd, all that were young led captive with exceeding ſpoil.

1583. *Juan Baſiliwich*[10] having the year before ſent his Ambaſſador *Pheodor Andrewich* about matters of Commerce, the Queen made choice of Sir *Jerom Bowes*, one of her Houſhold, to go into *Ruſſia*; who being attended with more than 40 Perſons, and accompanied with the *Ruſſe* returning home, arriv'd at St. *Nicolas*. The *Dutch* by this time had intruded into the *Muſcovy*-Trade; which by privilege long before had been granted ſolely to the *Engliſh*; and had corrupted to thir ſide *Shalkan* the Chancellor, with others of the great ones; who ſo wrought, that a Creature of thir own was ſent to meet Sir *Jerom* at *Colmogro*, and to offer him occaſions of diſlike: Until at *Vologda* he was receiv'd by another from the Emperor; and at *Yeraſlave* by a Duke well accompanied, who preſented him with a Coach and ten Geldings. Two miles from *Moſco* met him four

[10] *Hack*. vol. 1. 458.

Gentlemen with two hundred horſe, who after ſhort ſalutation, told him what they had to ſay from the Emperor, willing him to alight, which the Ambaſſador ſoon refus'd, unleſs they alſo lighted; wheron they ſtood long debating; at length agreed, great diſpute follow'd, whoſe foot ſhould firſt touch the ground. Thir Meſſage deliver'd, and then embracing, they conducted the Ambaſſador to a houſe at *Moſco*, built for him purpoſely. At his going to Court he and his followers honorably mounted and apparell'd, the Emperor's Guard were ſet on either ſide all the way about 6000 ſhot. At the Court-gate met him four Noblemen in cloth of Gold, and rich Fur-caps, embroider'd with Pearl and Stone; then four others of greater degree, in which paſſage there ſtood along the Walls, and ſat on Benches ſeven or eight hundred men in colour'd Sattins and gold. At the Preſence-door met him the chief Herald, and with him all the great Officers of Court, who brought him where the Emperor ſat: there were ſet by him three Crowns of *Muſcovy*, *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*; on each ſide ſtood two young Noblemen, coſtly apparell'd in white; each of them had a broad Ax on his ſhoulder; on the Benches round ſat above a hundred Noblemen. Having giv'n the Ambaſſador his hand to kiſs, and enquir'd of the Queen's health, he will'd him to go ſit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces diſtant; from thence to ſend him the Queen's Letters and Preſent. Which the Ambaſſador thinking not reaſonable, ſtep'd forward; but the Chancellor meeting him, would have tak'n his Letters; to whom the Ambaſſador ſaid, that the Queen had directed no Letters to him; and ſo went on and deliver'd them to the Emperor's own hands; and after a ſhort withdrawing into the Council-Chamber, where he had Conference with ſom of the Council, he was call'd in to dinner: about the midſt

wherof, the Emperor ſtanding up drank a deep Carouſe to the Queen's Health, and ſent to the Ambaſſador a great Bowl of Rheniſh Wine to pledg him. But at ſeveral times being call'd for to treat about Affairs, and not yielding ought beyond his Commiſſion, the Emperor not wont to be gain-ſay'd, one day eſpecially broke into paſſion, and with a ſtern Countenance told him, he did not reckon the Queen to be his fellow: for there are, quoth he, her betters. The Ambaſſador not holding it his part, whatever danger might enſue, to hear any derogate from the Majeſty of his Princeſs, with like courage and countenance told him, that the Queen was equal to any in Chriſtendom who thought himſelf greateſt; and wanted not means to offend her Enemies whomſoever. Yea, quoth he, what ſaiſt thou of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Kings? I hold her, quoth the Ambaſſador, equal to either. Then what to the *German* Emperor? Her Father, quoth he, had the Emperor in his pay. This anſwer miſlik'd the Duke ſo far, as that he told him, were he not an Ambaſſador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, ſaid the Ambaſſador, do your will, for I am now faſt in your Country; but the Queen I doubt not will know how to be reveng'd of any injury offer'd to her Ambaſſador. Wherat the Emperor in great ſudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than ſuch uſage requir'd, ſaluted the Emperor, and went his way. Notwithſtanding this, the *Muſcovite*, ſoon as his mood left him, ſpake to them that ſtood by, many praiſes of the Ambaſſador, wiſhing he had ſuch a Servant, and preſently after ſent his chief Secretary to tell him that whatever had paſs'd in words, yet for his great reſpect to the Queen, he would ſhortly after diſpatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarg'd his entertainment. He alſo deſir'd

that the Points of our Religion might be ſet down, and caus'd them to be read to his Nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had ſought in marriage the Lady *Mary Haſtings*, which took not effect, the Lady and her Friends excuſing it, he now again renu'd the motion to take to Wife ſome one of the Queen's Kinſwomen, either by ſending an Ambaſſage, or going himſelf with his Treaſure into *England*. Now happy was that Nobleman whom Sir *Jerom Bows* in public favour'd; unhappy they who had oppos'd him: for the Emperor had beaten *Shalkan* the Chancelor very grievouſly for that cauſe, and threatn'd not to leave one of his race alive. But the Emperor dying ſoon after of a Surfeit, *Shalkan*, to whom then almoſt the whole Government was committed, caus'd the Ambaſſador to remain cloſe Priſoner in his Houſe nine weeks. Being ſent for at length to have his diſpatch, and ſlightly enough conducted to the Council-Chamber, he was told by *Shalkan* that this Emperor would condeſcend to no other agreements than were between his Father and the Queen before his coming: and ſo diſarming both him and his Company, brought them to the Emperor with many affronts in thir paſſage, for which there was no help but patience. The Emperor ſaying but over what the Chancellor had ſaid before, offer'd him a Letter for the Queen: which the Ambaſſador, knowing it contain'd nothing to the purpoſe of his Embaſſy, refus'd, till he ſaw his danger grow too great; nor was he ſuffer'd to reply, or have his Interpreter. *Shalkan* ſent him word that now the *Engliſh* Emperor was dead; and haſten'd his departure, but with ſo many diſgraces put upon him, as made him fear ſome miſchief in his journey to the Sea; having only one mean Gentleman ſent with him to be his Convoy: he commanded the *Engliſh*

Merchants in the Queen's name to accompany him, but ſuch was his danger, that they durſt not. So arming himſelf and his Followers in the beſt wiſe he could, againſt any outrage, he at length recover'd the Shoar of Saint *Nicholas*. Where he now resolv'd to ſend them back by his Conduct ſome of the affronts which he had receiv'd. Ready therfore to take Ship, he cauſes three or four of his valianteſt and diſcreeteſt men to take the Emperor's Letter, and diſgraceful Preſent, and to deliver it, or leave it at the Lodging of his Convoy, which they ſafely did; though follow'd with a great Tumult of ſuch as would have forc'd them to take it back.

1584. At the Coronation of *Pheodor* the Emperor, *Jerom Horſey* being then Agent in *Ruſſia*, and call'd for to Court with one *John de Wale* a Merchant of the *Netherlands* and a Subject of *Spain*, ſome of the Nobles would have prefer'd the *Fleming* before the *Engliſh*. But to that our Agent would in no caſe agree, ſaying he would rather have his Legs cut off by the Knees, than bring his Preſent in courſe after a Subject of *Spain*. The Emperor and Prince *Boris* perceiving the Controverſy, gave order to admit *Horſey* firſt: who was diſmiſs'd with large Proniſes, and ſeventy Meſſes with three Carts of ſeveral Meath ſent after him.

1588. Dr. *Giles Fletcher* went Ambaſſador from the Queen to *Pheodor* then Emperor; whoſe Relations being judicious and exact, are beſt read entirely by themſelves.[11] This Emperor upon report of the great Learning of *John Dee* the Mathematician, invited him to *Moſco* with offer of two thouſand pounds a year, and from Prince *Boris* one thouſand Marks; to have his Proviſion from the Emperor's Table, to

[11] *Hack.* 508.

be honourably receiv'd, and accounted as one of the chief men in the Land. All which *Dee* accepted not.

1604. Sir *Thomas Smith* was ſent Ambaſſador from King *James* to *Boris* then Emperor; and ſtaid ſome days at a place five miles from *Moſco* till he was honourably receiv'd into the City; met on horſeback by many thouſands of Gentlemen and Nobles on both ſides the way; where the Ambaſſador alighting from his Coach, and mounted on his Horſe, rode with his Trumpets ſounding before him; till a Gentleman of the Emperor's Stable brought him a Gennet gorgeouſly trapt with Gold, Pearl and Stone, eſpecially with a great Chain of plated Gold about his Neck, and Horſes richly adorn'd for his Followers. Then came three great Noblemen with an Interpreter offring a Speech; but the Ambaſſador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief Compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they ſaluted, and gave hands mutually. Thoſe three after a tedious preamble of the Emperor's Title thrice repeated, brought a ſeveral Compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the firſt, To know how the King did; the next, How the Ambaſſador; the third, That there was a fair Houſe provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the Ambaſſador, and about ſix thouſand Gallants behind them; ſtill met within the City by more of greater quality to the very Gate of his lodging: where fifty Gunners were his daily Guard both at home and abroad. The Preſtaves or Gentlemen aſſign'd to have the care of his entertainment, were earneſt to have had the Ambaſſador's Speech and Meſſage given them in writing, that the Interpreter, as they pretended, might the better tranſlate it; but he admoniſh'd them of thir fooliſh demand. On the day of his audience other Gennets were ſent him and his Attendants to ride on, and

two white Palfreys to draw a rich Chariot, which was parcel of the Preſent; the reſt wherof was carried by his Followers through a lane of the Emperor's Guard; many Meſſengers poſting up and down the while, till they came through the great Caſtle, to the uttermoſt Court-gate. There met by a great Duke, they were brought up ſtairs through a Stone-gallery, where ſtood on each hand many in fair Coats of *Perſian* Stuff, Velvet and Damaſk. The Ambaſſador by two other Counſellors being led into the preſence, after his obeyſance don, was to ſtay and hear again the long Title repeated; then the particular Preſents; and ſo deliver'd as much of his Embaſſage as was then requiſite. After which the Emperor ariſing from his Throne, demanded of the King's health; ſo did the young Prince. The Ambaſſador then deliver'd his Letters into the Emperor's own hand, though the Chancellor offer'd to have taken them. He bore the Majeſty of a mighty Emperor; his Crown and Sceptre of pure Gold, a Collar of Pearls about his Neck, his Garment of crimſon Velvet embroider'd with precious Stone and Gold. On his right Side ſtood a fair Globe of beaten Gold on a Pyramis with a Croſs upon it; to which before he ſpake, turning a little he croſt himſelf. Not much leſs in ſplendor on another Throne ſat the Prince. By the Emperor ſtood two Noblemen in Cloth of Silver, high Caps of black Fur, and Chains of gold hanging to thir Feet; on thir Shoulders two Poleaxes of gold, and two of ſilver by the Prince; the ground was all cover'd with Arras or Tapiſtry. Diſmiſt, and brought in again to dinner, they ſaw the Emperor and his Son ſeated in ſtate, ready to dine; each with a Skull of Pearl on thir bare Heads, thir Veſtments chang'd. In the midſt of this Hall ſeem'd to ſtand a Pillar heap'd round to a great height with maſſy Plate curiouſly wrought

with Beaſts, Fiſhes and Fowl. The Emperor's Table was ſerv'd with two hundred Noblemen in Coats of gold; the Princes Table with young Dukes of *Caſan*, *Aſtracan*, *Siberia*, *Tartaria* and *Circaſſia*. The Emperor ſent from his Table to the Ambaſſador, thirty diſhes of Meat, to each a Loaf of extraordinary fine Bread. Then follow'd a number more of ſtrange and rare diſhes pil'd up by half dozens, with boil'd, roaſt and bak't, moſt part of them beſawc'd with Garlick and Onions. In midſt of dinner calling the Ambaſſador up to him, he drank the King's health, who receiving it from his hand, return'd to his place, and in the ſame Cup being of fair Chryſtal pledg'd it with all his Company. After dinner they were call'd up to drink of excellent and ſtrong Meath from the Emperor's hand; of which when many did but ſip, he urg'd it not; ſaying he was beſt pleas'd with what was moſt for thir health. Yet after that, the ſame day he ſent a great and glorious Duke, one of them that held the golden Poleax, with his Retinue, and ſundry ſorts of Meath to drink merrily with the Ambaſſador, which ſome of the *Engliſh* did, until the Duke and his Followers light-headed, but well rewarded with thirty yards of Cloth of gold, and two ſtanding Cups, departed. At ſecond audience the Ambaſſador had like reception as before: and being diſmiſs'd, had dinner ſent after him with three hundred ſeveral diſhes of Fiſh, it being Lent, of ſuch ſtrangeneſs, greatneſs and goodneſs, as ſcarce would be credible to report. The Ambaſſador departing, was brought a mile out of the City with like honour as he was firſt met; where lighting from the Emperor's Sled, he took him to his Coach, made faſt upon a Sled; the reſt to thir Sleds, an eaſy and pleaſant paſſage.

Names of the Authors from whence theſe Relations have been taken; being all either Eye-witneſſes, or immediate Relaters from ſuch as were.

THe *Journal of* Sir Hugh Willowby.
Diſcourſe of Richard Chancelor.
Another of Clement Adams *taken from the mouth of* Chancelor.
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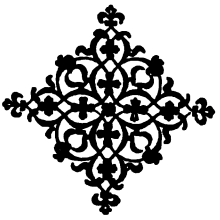

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